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GERMAN MILITARY GOVERNMENT OVER EUROPE:

BELGIUM

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Description

An analysis of the political, economic, social, and military controls which the Nazis established for the government and exploitation of Belgium.

9 January 1945

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This study is Part Three, Section One, I, of the series

GERMAN MILITARY GOVERNMENT OVER EUROPE

the outline of which is as follows:

Part One. Principles and Methods of German Military Government over Europe

Part Two. German Controls in Occupied Europe

- I. The German Army in Occupied Europe
- II. The SS and Police in Occupied Europe
- III. Military and Police Tribunals in Occupied Europe
- IV. The Nazi Party in Occupied Europe
- V. Technical and Economic Troops in Occupied Europe
- VI. Economic and Financial Controls in Occupied Europe
- VII. Labor Controls in Occupied Europe
- VIII. Propaganda in Occupied Europe

Part Three. The German Occupation of Individual Regions

Section One. Areas of Military Administration

- * I. Belgium
- II. France
- III. Greece

Section Two. Areas of Civil Administration

- I. The Netherlands
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Section Three. Appended Territories (Nebenländer)

- I. The Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia
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BELGIUM

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I. BELGIUM

A. THE STRUCTURE OF GERMAN MILITARY GOVERNMENT

1. Introduction

King Leopold's surrender to the German forces on 28 May 1940 was a military act; he did not engage in political or administrative negotiations with the enemy but decided to become a prisoner of war. This fact, together with the strategic importance of Belgium for Germany's further prosecution of the war, is of capital importance for an understanding of the character of German administration in Belgium. Unlike the administration of occupied Holland, the structure of German government in Belgium was, in theory at least, purely military in nature.

A proclamation to the Belgian population, issued on the day of the invasion, stated that Belgian territory, occupied by German troops, would be placed under German military administration. 1/ This proclamation, which was also published as a "notice" in the daily press, stated that all ordinances decreed by the military chiefs would have legal force and were to be executed at once. Furthermore, it was decreed that the laws of the country would remain in force insofar as they were not contrary to the German occupation aims. Thus, from the first day of the invasion, the Germans imposed on Belgium a military administration. 2/

1/ Heeresgruppen-Verordnungsblatt für die besetzten Gebiete, herausgeben von der Heeresgruppe, 10 May 1940, p.2.

2/ Neither this proclamation nor decrees issued by the German officials in Belgium contain specific details on the administrative structure of the German occupation of the country. Therefore, the description of the German military administration as herein given is not based on official documents alone, but is rather a picture of the German administration framework as observed through a study of its functioning during the occupation.

For the various titles under which the Verordnungsblatt appeared, see A 4. They are referred to hereafter as Vbl.Belg.

The principal tasks of the German military administration were:1/

a. To co-operate with the Belgian officials in order to secure and maintain peace and public order.

b. To control effectively all the branches of the Belgian administration in the occupied territory.

c. To place the resources of the occupied country at the disposition of the Wehrmacht and German military economy.

d. To prevent the Belgian administration from making decisions which would be contrary to German interests.

e. To see to it that the orders of the German military administration were carried out by the Belgian officials.

f. To secure the harvest and the food supplies.

g. To bring back the emigrants and to repatriate the Volksdeutsche.

The territorial limits of German military administration included the whole of Belgium and the two French departments of the Nord and the Pas-de-Calais. The decision to incorporate the two French departments in the administration of Belgium must have taken place prior to the invasion because the decrees issued by German officials while military operations in Belgium were still in progress were already signed by the Commander in Chief of the Army in Belgium and Northern France. On the other hand, the cantons of Eupen, Malmédy, and Saint-Vith, which Germany had lost under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, and also the commune of Moresnet (La Calamine), which before 1914 had been neutral Belgo-German territory, were annexed to the German Reich and attached to the Gau of Aix-la-Chapelle on 18 May 1940.

Supreme authority in Belgium and Northern France was exercised by a military commander (Militärbefehlshaber in Belgien und Nordfrankreich), General Alexander von Falkenhausen.

1/ Deutsche Verwaltung, 1940, p. 358.

There was in addition a special Luftwaffe commander in charge of air operations in occupied Belgium and in the Departments of the Nord and Pas-de-Calais. He was General und Befehlshaber im Luftgau Belgien und Nordfrankreich, General zu Flieger Wimmer.

There were two distinct organs of military administration, a Military Section (Kommandostab) and an Administrative Section (Verwaltungsstab). The Military Section regulated purely military matters, and the Administrative Section was in charge of civil affairs.

The strength of the German military administration lay partly in the fact that it had not been split into separate departments for various functions which might have been played off one against the other by a skillful opponent. The Belgians had to deal with only one central authority -- the Military Commander in Chief and the Chief of the Military Administration. The Frankfurter Zeitung described the efficiency of the administration in Belgium and Northern France in the following words: "In contrast to the last war, when about 10,000 German officials were necessary for the administration of Belgium, the present military administration consists of only 475 officers, officials, and the Sonderführer. The total staff amounts to 830 persons including all Hilfskräfte. This is the more remarkable as the area under the German administration is much larger than in the last war, comprising Northern France as well as the whole of Belgium." 1/ In practice, however, the efficiency of the German military administration was not as high as could have been expected. The excessive number of orders and regulations complicated and confused the entire administrative structure.

1/ Review of the Foreign Press, 1 June 1942, quoting the Frankfurter Zeitung.

2. The Military Section (Kommandostab)

The Military Section of the German administration for the occupied territory of Belgium and Northern France was divided into Oberfeldkommandanturen, Feldkommandanturen, Ortskommandanturen, and Kreiskommandanturen.

a. Oberfeldkommandanturen (Higher Field Commands) and Feldkommandanturen (Field Commands)

The Kommandanturen of Belgium and Northern France were arranged in groups of provinces, each group being headed by an Oberfeldkommandant. There were five Oberfeldkommandanturen in the occupied area:

Headquarters	Group of provinces	Name of Oberfeld-kommandant
Brussels	Brabant, Antwerp, Limbourg	General von Hammerstein
Ghent	West Flanders, East Flanders	General von Claer
Liége	Liége, Luxembourg	General Bertram
Mons	Namur, Hainaut	General von Walther
Lille	Depts. du Nord, Pas-de-Calais	General Niehoff

The authority of the Feldkommandantur extended over the area of the provinces in which its headquarters were established. There were four Feldkommandanturen with headquarters at Antwerp (Province of Antwerp), Eecloo (Province of East Flanders), Hasselt (Province of Limbourg), and Lille (Department du Nord).

b. Ortskommandanturen (Town Commands) and Kreiskommandanturen (County Commands)

The Ortskommandanturen were under the command of Oberfeld- and Feldkommandanturen. The Kreiskommandanturen were subordinate to the Feldkommandanturen. It is believed that in general the area of a Kreiskommandantur corresponded to that of a Belgian arrondissement. The following is a list of all the identified Kommandanturen of the German military administration for Belgium and Northern France:

Name and location		Headquarters
Antwerp		
Feldkommandantur	520	Antwerp
Kreiskommandantur	598	
Ortskommandanntur	702	
Kreiskommandantur	694	Malines
East Flanders		
Oberfeldkommandantur	570	Ghent
Kreiskommandantur	630	
Ortskommandantur	690	
Kreiskommandantur	654	St. Nicolas
Kreiskommandantur	708 or 632	Termonde
Kreiskommandantur		Oudenarde
Feldkommandantur	815	Eecloo
West Flanders		Bruges
Kreiskommandantur	510	
Kreiskommandantur	663	Roulers
Ortskommandantur	853	Courtrai
Kreiskommandantur	652	Ypres
Kreiskommandantur	632	Poperinghe
Ortskommandantur		Blankenberghe
Ortskommandantur		Middelkerke
Ortskommandantur		
Limbourg		Hasselt
Feldkommandantur	681	
Brabant		
Militärbefehlshaber Belgien u. Nord-Frankreich		Brussels
Oberfeldkommandantur	672	
Ortskommandantur	643	Louvain
Kreiskommandantur	913	Nivelles
Kreiskommandantur	689	
Hainaut		Mons
Oberfeldkommandantur	520	
Kreiskommandantur	616	Tournai
Kreiskommandantur	614	Charleroi
Kreiskommandantur	688	Namur
Kreiskommandantur	682(formerly Feldk.)	
Ortskommandantur	942	Dinant
Krieskommandantur	613	
Luxembourg		Arlon
Krieskommandantur	598	Neufchâteau
Krieskommandantur	636	
Liége		Liége
Oberfeldkommandantur	589	Huy
Ortskommandantur	940	
Kreiskommandantur	687	

Name and Location		Headquarters
Kreiskommandantur	691	Verviers
Département du Nord		
Oberfeldkommandantur	670	
Feldkommandantur	678	
Kreiskommandantur	633	Lille
Ortskommandantur	914	
Kreiskommandantur	714	Dunkerque
Ortskommandantur		
Kreiskommandantur	715	Douai
Kreiskommandantur	703	Valenciennes
Kreiskommandantur	692	Cambrai
Kreiskommandantur	693	Aresmes
Ortskommandantur		Roubaix
Ortskommandantur		Armentières
Ortskommandantur		Bailleul
Ortskommandantur		Hâzebrouck
Ortskommandantur		Cassel
Pas-de-Calais		
Kreiskommandantur	713	Boulogne
Ortskommandantur		
Kreiskommandantur	771	Montreuil
Kreiskommandantur	772	St. Omer
Kreiskommandantur	635	Béthune
Kreiskommandantur	639	Arras
Ortskommandantur		Frevent

3. The Administrative Section (Verwaltungsstab)

The Administrative Section, headed by General Eggert Reeder, was divided into three sections: the Office of the Chief (Praesidial Abteilung), the Administrative Division, and the Economic Division. (See Appendex I.) The Office of the Chief was in charge of general and political policies. The Administrative Division was composed of the following branches: State Administration, Communal Life, Social Welfare, Police, Transportation, Press, Radio, Finance, Justice, Education, Culture, Public Health, and Road Building and Waterways. The Economic Division, which was directed by Dr. Schlumprecht, was divided into twelve divisions, each with its chief (Leiter). Some of the divisions were in turn made up of sections. (See Appendex II.)

The Administrative Section, however, does not seem to have had its own executive organs. Its regulations, therefore, were carried out by the officials in the Military

Section. On 1 December 1940, it was stated that each Oberfeld- and Feldkommandantur having administrative sections would henceforth have a province as its administrative area. 1/ Consequently the Feldkommandanturen, which hitherto had been subordinate to the Oberfeldkommandanturen, were placed for all administrative matters under the immediate orders of the chief of the military administration. Therefore, all differences between Oberfeld- and Feldkommandanturen in the field of administration ceased to exist.

4. Media for Issuance of Laws

The German officials governed the territory by means of decrees (Verordnungen) issued by the Military Commander and published in an official gazette. Since the beginning of the invasion it appeared successively under three different titles:

a. Verordnungsblatt No. 1: Heeresgruppen-Verordnungsblatt für die besetzten Gebiete, herausgegeben von der Heeresgruppe

b. Verordnungsblatt Nos.2-10: Verordnungsblatt des Militärbefehlshlshabers in Belgien und Nordfrankreich für die besetzten Gebiete Belgiens, Luxemburgs und Nordfrankreichs, herausgegeben vom Militärbefehlshaber (Militärverwaltungschef)

c. Verordnungsblatt No. 10 to August 1944: Verordnungsblatt des Militärbefehlshabers in Belgien und Nordfrankreich für die besetzten Gebiete Belgiens und Nordfrankreichs, herausgeben vom Militärbefehlshaber (Militärverwaltungschef)

The greater number of the decrees and ordinances issued by the German military administration date from the beginning of the occupation and more particularly from the months of May, June and July 1940. After that time decrees were less frequent and were for the most part issued as amendments to earlier ones. It is obvious that all basic decrees were drawn up before the invasion of Belgium. The decree of 18 May 1940 ordering the circulation of Reichskreditkassenscheine (Occupation Marks),2/ for example, was based on a decree of

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1/ Deutsches Recht, 1941, I, 34.
2/ Vbl. Belg., 17 June 1940, p. 19.

3 May 1940, seven days prior to the invasion. (See A 1.)

5. The Creation of a Civil Administration

On 13 July 1944 the German news agency DNB officially announced that the German military administration in Belgium and Northern France had been replaced by a German civil government, headed by a Reich Commissioner. It was disclosed that General Alexander von Falkenhausen had been replaced as Military Commander, and that Josef Grohé and General Grase had been appointed respectively as Reich Commissioner and Military Commander for the occupied areas. 1/

This reorganization was in line with the developments within the Reich which pointed to a steady expansion of Nazi Party influence to the detriment of the military. The appointment of Grohé, who as a high Party official and an SS Group Leader was more closely connected with the Gestapo than General von Falkenhausen, might have been influenced by the German endeavor to counteract the growing strength of the Belgian underground. The tightening of German control, therefore, forecast a period of more ruthless Nazi domination.

Less than a month later, on 9 August 1944, the German-controlled radio of Brussels announced that SS Gruppenführer Jungklaus, special representative of Himmler in Belgium and Northern France, had been appointed Chief of SS and Police in that area. 2/ On 14 August 1944 it was reported that by decree of the Führer the post of Commander in Chief of the Wehrmacht in Belgium and Northern France had been merged with that of Supreme SS Leader and Police Chief, and that as such Jungklaus had been promoted to Commander in Chief of the Wehrmacht in Belgium and Northern France. 3/ This change was

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1/ FCC: Daily, 13 July 1944.
2/ Belgian Home Service, 9 August 1944 (News Digest No. 1573, 11 August 1944).
3/ FCC: Daily, 14 August 1944.

an additional indiction of German's endeavor to replace army chiefs by high Party officials. At the time of the first reorganization, the Wehrmacht was able to retain the post of Military Commander of the area, which was given to General Grase, and, although the reports of the later changes did not mention Grase, it was to be presumed that his duties were taken over by Jungklaus. Thus the Wehrmacht had lost its last important position in occupied Belgium.

In view of the short period during which this new German administration was in office (Brussels was liberated by the Allied armies on 4 September 1944) it is to be doubted whether the lower echelons of the German administration underwent significant changes.

B. THE STRUCTURE OF THE BELGIAN GOVERNMENT UNDER GERMAN OCCUPATION

1. Central Government

a. Pre-war Central Government

Belgium is a constitutional monarchy. Although the constitution states that the "executive power belongs to the King," the Council of Ministers, which is responsible to the legislature, directs the general policies of the government. The Belgian governmental system is closely modeled on the British. The executive powers are exercised by the Council of Ministers (Cabinet), with the Prime Minister as its head. The King formally appoints as Prime Minister the leader who can command a majority in the legislative chambers. The number of Ministers and the distribution of functions among them are determined by the Prime Minister and thereupon fixed by royal decree; they are subject to change with each new ministry. The heads of departments (Ministers) selected by the Prime Minister are formally appointed by the King. The cabinet formed on 5 May 1940 had, in addition to the Prime Minister, thirteen departments. The composition of the cabinet on the day of the invasion was as follows:

Prime Minister	Hubert Pierlot
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Paul-Henri Spaak
Minister of Economic Affairs	Auguste De Schryver
Minister of Justice	Paul Emile Janson
Minister of Interior	Arthur Vanderpoorten
Minister of Education and Fine Arts	Eugène Soudan
Minister of Finance	Camille Adolphe Gutt
Minister of War	Lt. General H. Denis
Minister of Agriculture	Charles d'Aspremont Lynden
Minister of Public Works	Léon Mantagne
Minister of Labor and Social Welfare	Auguste Balthazar
Minister of Colonies	Albert De Vleeschouwer
Minister of Transport	Antoine Delfosse
Minister of Public Health	Marcel Henri Jaspar

These cabinet members were the so-called political heads of the ministries or departments. The first assistant to the Minister was called the Secretary General, a permanent

civil servant. Whereas the political heads of the ministries were changed according to political trends or political situations at a given moment, the Secretaries General represented the element of continuity and professional skill in the administration of the Cabinet.

The Belgian legislature is bicameral, consisting of a Chamber of Representatives and a Senate. The Chamber of Representatives has a membership of 202 elected by universal manhood suffrage for a term of four years. The Senate has a membership of 167, elected for a term of four years. The Senate consists of three classes of Senators: elected Senators, Senators nominated by the Provincial Councils, and co-opted Senators.

Traditionally the Chamber of Representatives has been a more influential body than the Senate, but legally their legislative powers are equal. Elections for both chambers were held in April 1939 and resulted in the following composition of the two legislative bodies:

Chamber of Representatives	Number of seats
Catholics (including Christian Democrats)	73
Socialists	64
Liberals	33
Flemish Nationalists	17
Communists	9
Rexists	4
Others	2
Total	202

Senate	
Catholics (including Christian Democrats)	62
Socialists	61
Liberals	25
Flemish Nationalists	12
Rexists	4
Communists	3
Total	167

b. Post-Invasion Central Government

The pre-war structure of the Belgian central administration in principle remained intact. The Germans, while establishing their own military organization, did, however, force the indigenous Belgian officials to reorganize their administration along the New Order principle, which enabled the Germans to exercise a direct control over the civil administration. This was exercised in two ways: by control over the functions of the local officials and by direct German ordinances.

Although King Leopold decided to remain in the country as a prisoner of war, his Ministers as well as the majority of the members of Parliament were convinced that they could serve their country best by escaping in order to continue their government on Allied soil. Thus the absence of the political heads of the central government left the administration of the day-to-day affairs of state in the hands of the Secretaries General. On 5 May 1935 a law had been passed ruling that a number of officials should remain in office in the event of an enemy occupation of the country. On 10 May 1940, the day of the invasion, a new law complemented that of 1935. This law became the basis for all reorganization in the administrative structure of the country. 1/ Pierlot, Belgium's Prime Minister, made it clear in a speech over the London radio that the law of 10 May had only one aim: to ensure that the administrative life of the country under foreign occupation was carried out by the division of responsibility. The Secretaries General had obtained certain administrative powers,

1/ "Loi relative aux delegations de pouvoir en temps de guerre:
"Art. 5. Lorsque par l'effet des opérations militaires, un magistrat ou un fonctionnaire est privé de toute communication avec l'autorité supérieur dont il dépend ou si cette autorité a cessé ses fonctions, il exerce dans le cadre de son activité professionnelle et pour les cas d'urgence toutes les attributions de cette autorité."
"Should military events prevent an official from establishing contact with the higher authority on which he depends, or should this higher authority cease to operate, he shall, in case of emergency, assume all the functions of this authority within the limits of this office."

but the Ministers never intended to give their Secretaries General other powers than that of administering the country under the occupation according to the spirit of The Hague Convention. Consequently, the Secretaries were not authorized to serve the occupying authorities in the execution of their political reorganization and economic exploitation of the country, nor were the Secretaries General authorized to change or to promulgate laws or decrees contradictory to the Belgian Constitution. A study of the reorganizations ordered by the Secretaries General reveals, however, that they went far beyond the limits set forth by the basic law of 10 May 1940.

The German occupying authorities, in an attempt to enlarge their control over the functions of the Secretaries General, insisted on the removal of certain officials in order to appoint outstanding quislings to high administrative posts. The Nazis concealed their aims under a specious cover, and on 7 March 1941 the following German decree was promulgated:

> The present situation of Belgium demands exceptional obligations from the administration. In order to fulfill them, new ways must be followed. Capable and younger elements are ready to work. Especially among the hundreds of thousands of liberated Belgian military men, there are a great number who want to serve their country with all their power and with full knowledge of their responsibilities. Accordingly public posts must be opened to them. I therefore order public officials in Belgium to retire from active service at the end of the month in which they become 60 years of age. 1/

The ordinance, furthermore, stated clearly which positions were to be affected. This German regulation forced the removal of four Secretaries General. The vacant places were filled by New Order sympathizers and by persons who adopted an "attentist" attitude. After the German military setbacks in the East, however, a number of Secretaries General took a firmer stand, only to find themselves quickly dismissed by the Germans.

1/ Vbl. Belg., 8 March 1943, p. 529.

The main change in the central administration was the shifting of the center of gravity to the Minister of the Interior. The Gendarmerie, Public Health, Price Control, and many other functions came under the direct or indirect control of Romsee, the Secretary General of the Interior. The Secretaries General published their decrees in the Moniteur Belge des arrêstés ministériels et autres arrêtés des Secrétaires Généraux. Until May 1942 the publication of each new decree was preceded by the following statement, indicating the law on which the Secretaries General based their legislative power: "Vu la loi du 10 mai 1940, relative auz délégations de pouvoir en temps de guerre: Vu l'urgence et l'impossibilité de recourir a l'autorité supérieure." ("By virtue of the law of 10 May 1940 relating to the delegation of power in time of war: Given the urgency of the circumstances and the impossibility of having recourse to higher authority.") Various decrees promulgated by the Secretaries General, more specifically those relating to the transformation of the communal limits, the creation of co-operative organizations, and the establishment of administrative courts, were contrary to the Belgian Constitution. This led to the contesting of the rights and powers of the Secretaries General before the Belgian courts. On 14 May 1942 the German military authorities intervened and forbade any challenge of the validity of the decrees ordered by the Secretaries General by virtue of the law of 10 May 1940.1/ Henceforth the courts had to dismiss any action which contended that the decrees of the Secretaries General were illegal, on the ground that the matter lay outside their jurisdiction; thus there was no longer any reason for refusing to apply the decrees.

This German interference, however, met with opposition from the courts. Finally, on 4 July 1942, an agreement was

1/ Vbl. Belg., 15 May 1942, p. 915.

reached between the Secretaries General and the judges. Whereas formerly the Secretaries General had made decrees individually, based on the law of 10 May 1940, they undertook in the future to legislate as one body, the College of Secretaries General, and based such legislation on the law of 7 September 1939, by which Parliament conferred on the Executive, that is, the King and his Ministers, full powers to take any measures necessary for national defense and national subsistence. The German-controlled Belgian newspapers were quick to point out that this new agreement meant that the Supreme Court had recognized the Secretaries General as the legitimate successors of the Ministers. The German military administration thereupon suspended the application of the ordinance of 14 May 1942. This suspension was followed by the revival of the conflict between the courts and the Secretaries General.

2. Provincial Government

Belgium is divided into nine provinces. All the provinces except one (Luxembourg) are about equal in territorial extent, but they differ considerably in population. The provinces are:

Province	Population
Brabant	1,771,038
Antwerp	1,245,242
West Flanders	965,910
East Flanders	1,192,034
Hainaut	1,238,537
Liége	972,481
Limbourg	416,547
Luxembourg	2,219,566
Namur	356,198

The structure of provincial government was little modified under the German occupation and continued to maintain its pre-invasion functions until 11 April 1941, when Romsee, the Secretary General of the Interior, ordered the abolition of all provincial and communal councils at the request of General Reeder, the head of the military administration.

There are three distinct authorities in the provinces:

the Provincial Council, the Permanent Deputation, and the Governor. Belgian provincial authorities have a double duty: on the one hand, they administer the local affairs of the province under the supervision of the central government; and, on the other, they take part in the administration of the general affairs of the nation as directed by the central government.

a. The Provincial Council

The Provincial Council is the representative assembly of the inhabitants of the province, whose members are elected for eight years. It holds one regular session each year, the duration of which is limited usually to two weeks. It has no other task than that of enacting provincial leglislation; it votes the taxes and appropriations, the annual budget, and loans decided upon for the construction of provincial establishments; it also regualtes provincial interests.

b. The Permanent Deputation

The Permanent Deputation is composed of six members elected for an eight-year term by the Provincial Council and chosen from its own members. It is presided over by the Governor. The Permanent Deputation meets at least once a week. Its chief function is the supervision and control of the activities of the communal authorities.

c. The Governor

The Governor is the representative of the central government; he is chosen by, and may be freely recalled by, the Crown.

3. Communal Government

a. Pre-war Communal Government

In 1936 there were 2,670 communes in Belgium, varying in size and in population from cities to villages. As with provincial authorities, communal officials administer local affairs under the supervision and control of the central government.

In the commune there are three distinct authorities, the Communal Council, the Aldermanic College,, and only a relatively small number of local administrators. The German authorities often interfered, however, and used their influence to effect the dismissal of a number of higher local officials.

The German decree of 7 March 1941 ordering the resignation of men in "public functions" of more than sixty years of age (see B 1, 6) was the first major blow to the Belgian local administration, allowing the occupying authorities to replace dismissed functionaries with New Order sympathizers. Of the 2,670 burgomasters, 991 were replaced after May 1941; 1,615 aldermen, 225 communal secretaries, and 24 deputy members were appointed in the same period. The replacement of such a large number of officials caused some difficulty. In the Flemish part of the country the quisling VNV was able to fill all the vacancies: in the Walloon provinces, however, Rex, the Walloon quisling group, was not always able to cope with the situation, and the Germans were obliged to keep some of the "over-aged" officials in office.

On 11 April 1941 Reeder, Chief of the military administration in Belgium, requested the dissolution of the Councils. Romsee, the Secretary General of the Interior, to whom the request was addressed, promptly complied and forbade all meetings of Communal and Provincial Councils. Consequently, thenceforth the safeguarding of the municipal interests was entrusted to the individual burgomasters and aldermen. In October 1941 Romsee appointed Borginon, a Flemish nationalist, as Royal Commissioner to unify smaller communes into larger administrative units. The initial plans called for the creation of Greater Brussels, Antwerp, Liége, Charleroi, and Ghent. Later, plans were made to extend the unification to Bruges, Mons, La Louvière, and Tournai. Although preparatory discussion took place on including Namur, Huy, Ostend, Nieuport,

Courtrai, Noucron, Alost, Audenaerde, Malines, and Louvain in the plans, there is evidence that they were not carried out. The municipal authorities of a great number of areas strongly opposed the unification and establishment of the "greater agglomerations." In January 1943, the German authorities ordered that the Decree concerning the Fusion of Communes enacted by the Belgian Secretaries General was to be applied, and, furthermore, stipulated that the duties of the new units were to be determined according to the Belgian law. 1/

(1) Antwerp

On 1 January 1942, the seventeen communities around Antwerp were constituted as one community (Groot Antwerpen), with a population of 560,000 inhabitants as compared with 270,000 in the pre-war period.2/ The City Council was reorganized into the following departments:

Burgomaster: Delwaide
Commerce and Navigation: Timmermans
Finance: Molter
Judicial Affairs: Van Beveren
Fire Protection and Public Works: Somers
Education: Van Roosbroeck
Public Health and Commission for Public Assistance: Boeylandt
Food Supplies and Crops: Secher
Vital Statistics: Van Tichel
Sanitary Installations and Public Roads: Schneider
Fine Arts: Daems
City Properties: Wilems
Urbanization: Fallaise

(2) Brussels

The following communes were incorporated into Greater Brussels: Brussels, Ixelles, Anderlecht, Uccle, Molenbeek, Etterbeek, Auderghem, Watermael-Boitsfort, Woluwe-St.Lambert, Woluwe-St.Pierre, Evere, Schaerbeeck, St.Josse-ten Noode, Forest, St.Gilles, Koekelberg, Berghem St. Agathe, Ganshoren, Jette.

1/ Vbl. Belg., 26 January 1943, p. 1139.
2/ Algemeen Handelsblad, 11 April 1942, p. 5.

As of 1 January 1943, Greater Brussels was divided into ten districts dealing with food supply and other administrative questions:

(a) Central district: Brussels, St.Josse-ten Noode, St.Gilles, with its seat at the Burssels Town Hall.

(b) The former territories of the municipalities of Laeken, Neder-over-Heembeek, and Jette, with its seat at the municipal Town Hall of Laeken.

(c) Scaerbeek, Haren, and Evere, with its seat at the Town Hall of Schaerbeek.

(d) Woluwe-St.Pierre and Woluwe-St.Lambert, with its seat at the Town Hall of Woluwe-St.Lambert.

(e) Ixelles, Etterbeek and part of the territory of the former town of Brussels (Solbosch), with its seat at the Town Hall of Ixelles.

(f) Auderghem, Watermael-Boitsfort, with its seat at the Town Hall of Boitsfort.

(g) Uccle.

(h) Forest.

(i) Anderlecht.

(j) Berchem-St. Agathe, Molenbeek-St. Jean, Koekelberg, and Ganshoren, with its seat at the Town Hall of Molenbeek-St.Jean.

This plan, however, was only temporary, and it was announced that it would later be superseded by a plan, suggested by Bottemanne, the Alderman for public works in Greater Brussels. This plan provided for the division of Brussels into eight permanent districts with an enlarged Brussels section in the center. The boundaries of these districts were to be important roads and waterways.1/

1/ Le Soir, 12 November 1942.

The compostition of the new College of Burgomasters and Aldermen of "Greater Brussels" was as follows:

Burgomaster: J. Grauls
Flemish-speaking Aldermen
Education: Piet Finne
Port of Brussels: Willem Reinhardt
Art and Culture: Maurits Liesenborghs
Commerce and Industry: Lode Claeys
Public Health, Sport, and Welfare of Youth: Jan Delmartino
Food Supplies: Michel Tommelyn

French-speaking Aldermen
Civil Property: Leon Brunet
Finance: Maurice Denis
Public Works: Bootemane
Registration: Baron Adrien Gilles de Pelichy
Social Funds and Public Assistance: Arthur Baeck
Public Utilities: Jan de Man

(3) Liége

The Colleges of all the communes of the Liége agglomeration were disolved, and Greater Liége was established, including Liége itself, Angleur, Ans, Beyne-Heusary, Boncelles, Bressoux, Chence, Cheratte, Embourg, Flemalle-Grade, Flemalle-Haute, Fleron, Clain, Grace-Berleur, Grivegnel, Herstal,Hollogne aux Peirres, Jemappe-sur-Meuse, Jupille, Montegnel, Ougree, Recour, Romsee, Seraign, St.Nicolas, Tilleur, Vauxsous-Chevremont, Vivegnis; Vottem, and Sandre, and parts of Chokier, Ivoz-Ramet, Noveille en Condroz, Tilff, Chaudfontaine. Hermalle, Argenteau, and Mons were annexed to the city of Liége; part of Wandre was annexed to Bellaire and another part to Barchon. 1/ In December 1942 the College of Aldermen of Greater Liége passed a resolution dividing the territory of Greater Liége into ten districts. The boundaries of the new districts were drawn in accordance with topographic factors and transportation facilities.

1/ Inbel, 3 November 1943, No. 9, C.

The ten districts were:

District 1/	District chief 2/
Liége	
Grace	Laurent Borguet
Flemalle-Grande	Olivier Bodaux
Jemeppe	Maurice Jadoul
Seraing	Charles Springers
Ougree	Edgard Marquet
Chenee	Olivier Laloup
Beyne	Jean Maes
Wandre	Guillaume Chanteux
Hersthal	Charles Crollaer

(4) Charleroi

The Moniteur Belge of 28 July published a decree creating Grand Charleroi, including Charleroi, Trazegnies, Forchies-la-Marche, Leernez, Landelies, Souvret, Montigny-le-Tilleul, Jamioulx, Mont-sur-Marchienne, Goutroux, Monceau-sur-Sambre, Roux Courcelles, Gosselies, Ransart, Jumet, Lodelinsart, Dampremy, Marcinelle, Couillet, Loverval, Bouffioulx, Chatelet, Pont-de-Loup, Chatêlineaux, Gilly, Parciennes, Pironchamps, Montingy-sur-Sambre, and parts of Heppignies, Pleurus, Gozée, Marbaix, Ham-sur-Heure, Gerpinnes, and Josseret. 3/ Grand Charleroi had a population of 340,000 inhabitants. The College of Burgomaster and Aldermen was composed as follows:

Burgomaster:	Englebin
Aldermen:	Désiré Grevene
	Antoine Dujacquies
	Edgar Leflot
	Ligot
	Georges Denis
	Tournemenne
	Charles Declin

(5) Ghent

On 1 July 1942 Greater Ghent was established. The new agglomeration had 260,000 inhabitants and included the communes of Ghent, Afsnee, Gentbrugge, Ledeberg, Mariakerke,

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1/ Inbel, 9/250/No. 1457, 27 January 1943.
2/ News Digest, 20 February 1943, p. 26, quoting Le Pays Réel, 28 December 1943.
3/ Le Pays Réel, 28 July 1943.

Merelbeke, Oostakker, Sint-Denys-Westerm, Wondelgen, Zwynaarde, and parts of Destelbergen, Drongen, Heusden, Laarne, and Melle. 1/ The Burgomaster of Greater Ghent was Lefever.

1/ Le Pays Réel, 29 May 1942.

C. JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION

1. Decrees Modifying the Belgian Penal Code

The basis for the German modification of the Belgian Penal Code was provided by the following measures[1] enacted on the day of the invasion:

a. The placing of Belgium under German military administration.

b. The declaration that the Military Commander would take all necessary steps to ensure the security of the Army and the maintenance of public order and tranquillity.

c. The declaration that all ordinances decreed by the Military Chiefs would have legal status, although the laws of the country were to remain in force to the extent that they were not contrary to the German occupation aims. (See A 1.)

In addition to these three basic decrees, the German authorities decreed that the German Penal Code would be applied whenever an act should be punished by military or special courts according to German law.[2] The same order specified that the following acts were punishable according to German law:

a. Aiding non-German soldiers in the occupied territories.

b. Aiding civilians to escape into unoccupied territory.

c. Transmitting news to persons or authorities outside the occupied territory if such a transmittal was prejudicial to the interests of the German Armed Forces and the Reich.

d. Communicating with prisoners of war.

e. Insulting the German Army and its commanders.

a. The Jurisdiction of German Courts

On 18 May 1940 the local German commanders were given the powers of police penal jurisdiction.[3] On 9 September 1940

1/ Vbl. Belg., 10 May 1940, p. 2.
2/ Ibid., p. 7.
3/ Vbl. Belg., 17 June 1940, pp. 21, 31.

the officials of the German financial administration were authorized to employ penal sanctions in regard to monetary exchanges, duties, and taxes.1/ (See J 3.)

The powers of German officials in Belgium were enlarged by a decree of 14 November 1942 which stated that Kommandanten, i.e., Oberfeld-, Feld-, and Kreiskommandanten, were given the same disciplinary powers as the police and were thus empowered to take measures against persons who were not subject to military penal law.2/

On 28 April 1943, the German authorities enacted a new decree which repealed and replaced twenty-five former ordinances issued between 10 May 1940 and 10 December 1942. Under this decree the jurisdiction of the German courts was divided into three main categories:3/

(1) The Maintenance of Political and Economic Security. This group comprised the following major offenses: possession of firearms and failure to report persons possessing such arms; sabotage and failure to report preparation of sabotage; help given to escaped prisoners and other enemy nationals; strikes, lock-outs, and any other attempt to disturb industrial peace; forgery of food ration coupons; unauthorized hunting.

(2) The Maintenance of Law and Order. This group comprised acts of violence against collaborationists; furthering Communist plots; the possession or distribution of enemy leaflets or other anti-German propaganda material; the printing or distribution of anti-German propaganda material; unauthorized publication of newspapers, periodicals, books, or other printed matter; the formation of, or adherence to, unauthorized political groups; the organization of, or participation in, unauthorized demonstrations or meetings; listening to foreign radio stations;

1/ Vbl. Belg., 28 September 1940, p. 211.
2/ Vbl. Belg., 21 November 1942, p. 445.
3/ Vbl. Belg., 10 May 1943, p. 1293.

spreading false rumors.

(3) Protection of the Armed Forces. This category included acts of violence against the German Armed Forces or their members; insulting German or German-allied armies or their members; photographing military objectives; possession of wireless transmitters or parts thereof; plunder; illegal possession or use of German military uniforms or insignia, or of those of the NSDAP or affiliated organizations; forgery of German Army seals, etc.; dispensing medical treatment to members of the German Army or administration.

b. The Establishment of Administrative Penal Law

A decree of 18 December 1940, promulgated by the Militärverwaltungschef, established a new administrative penal law.1/ The decree stated that the highest national authorities in Belgium were permitted to establish an administrative penal law for their respective departments, according to which they or those to whom they delegated their authority were empowered to inflict the following administrative punishments:

a. Fines up to 700,000 francs.

b. The closing of any establishment temporarily or permanently.

c. The confiscation of any property.

d. The prohibition of, or imposition of restrictions upon, the exercise of any profession.

The Secretaries General in two decrees set forth clearly the principles on which the administrative jurisdiction was based. The burgomasters of the large cities and the commissaires d' arrondissement in the first instance, and the governors of provinces, on appeal, were competent to pronounce administrative sentences to suppress contraventions of the regulations governing food supply. These cases were not taken before the ordinary courts except when referred to them by the administrative courts or by the public prosecutor.

1/ Vbl. Belg., 23 December 1940, p. 211.

2. The Belgian Courts

a. The Pre-War Courts

(1) Civil Courts

(a) The Court of First Instance. The court of first instance is the magistrate's court, which handles civil cases involving small sums and conciliations. Magistrates are appointed by the king and, like the judges, hold their office for life. There is a magistrate's court in each of the 222 cantons.

(b) Courts of Primary Jurisdiction. The courts of primary jurisdiction receive appeals from decisions of the magistrates' courts and handle all civil cases in which large amounts of money are involved. The courts of first instance are composed of one or more chambers. Each chamber has a president and one or more vice presidents, who are appointed by the King from two lists of nominees, each containing twice as many names as there are positions to be filled; one list is presented by the court itself, the other by the Provincial Councils. There are also three judges (one judge in certain cases), who are appointed by the King. There are twenty-six courts of first instance, which correspond to the twenty-six judicial arrondissements.

(c) Courts of Appeal. Appeals from the courts of first instance go before the courts of appeal. The courts of appeal are composed of a president, several vice presidents elected by the court from among its own members, and conseillers who are appointed by the King in the same way as the president and the vice president of the courts of first instance. There are three courts of appeal, one each in Brussels, in Ghent, and in Liége.

(2) Criminal Courts

The jurisdiction of the criminal courts corresponds to the three types of offenses recognized in Belgian criminal

law: petty crimes (contraventions), misdemeanors (délits), and felonies (crimes).

(a) Police Courts. Cases involving petty crimes are handled in police courts, one of which is located in each canton.

(b) Courts of Correction. The courts of correction are competent in all cases involving misdemeanors and appeals from the police courts. The jurisdiction of each court includes one of the twenty-six arrondissements. Each court is made up of three judges.

(c) Courts of Appeal. Appeals from the courts of correction are taken before the courts of appeal. Their composition and jurisdiction are similar to those of the civil courts of appeal.

(d) Cours d' Assises. Felonies, political offenses, and offenses relating to the press are judged by cours d' assises, one in each province. Each court has, in addition to a president and two judges, a jury composed of twelve citizens chosen by lot. This is the only court in Belgium using trial by jury.

(3) Special Courts

(a) Commercial Courts. Commercial matters are tried in fourteen commercial courts. Each is composed of one president and two judges elected by businessmen and a referee appointed by the King. Appeals from the commercial courts are carried to the ordinary courts of appeal.

(b) Labor Courts. There are also fifty-two labor courts, which handle disputes between employers and employees. Each of the two groups elects one-half of the judges. Appeals from these boards are judged by seven labor courts of appeal.

(c) The Court of Accounts. Although there are no administrative courts in Belgium, there is a Court of Accounts,

which is concerned with the legality of the expenditures of the state and the provinces, and with disputes between the state and those who receive money on its account.

(4) The Supreme Court (Cour de Cassation)

The Supreme Court judges all conflicts of competence, and is the instance of last appeal from all lower courts, but only as far as questions of law (not of facts) are concerned. Unlike the United States Supreme Court, the Belgian Cour de Cassation does not review the constitutionality of the laws. If the Supreme Court decides that the law has been incorrectly applied it does not render a decision itself but refers the case to another court (e.g., to another court of appeal). This lower court is, however, not bound by the Supreme Court's opinion. The Supreme Court is composed of one first president and one vice president elected by the Court from among its own members, and of fifteen conseillers appointed by the King in the same manner as the conseillers of the court of appeal from a list presented by the Senate.

b. Post-Invasion Modifications

All courts operating in Belgium prior to the invasion were retained under the occupation. The establishment of an administrative court (see C 1) was the only addition to the Belgian court system.

The German authorities, however, set up their own military courts to deal with all violations of German regulations.

D. THE POLICE AND PUBLIC SAFETY

1. The German Police

a. The Secret State Police (Geheime Staatspolizei)

The most active of all German police forces was the Secret State Police, better known as the Gestapo. It acted directly on orders from Berlin and was apparently outside the control of General von Falkenhausen. The duty of the Gestapo was the repression of the resistance movement and counter-espionage. Its headquarters were at Brussels and there is evidence that it maintained two concentration camps, one at Breendonck in Antwerp Province and the other at Huy in the Province of Liége.

b. The Secret Field Police (Geheime Feldpolizei -- GFP)

The activities of the GFP were parallel to those of the Gestapo although the latter's objectives were more political and the former more military. The GFP was active in counter-espionage, and in tracking down the resistance movements, sabotage, etc. Unlike the Gestapo, the GFP was under the orders of the military occupation authorities. The members of the GFP wore either field-gray or air-force blue uniforms with a badge marked Geheime Feldpolizei and bearing the German eagle and the swastika on the back. When in mufti they were identified by a red or green GFP card carrying their name and two photographs of the bearer. 1/ Belgian and German informers were also in the service of the GFP.

c. The Field Gendarmes (Feldgendarmerie)

The Field Gendarmes served both as military police and as a civilian gendarmerie force. Like the GFP it was supervised by the military authorities, and it performed such tasks as the inspection of passes and leaves of the German troops stationed in Belgium. As a civilian force it co-operated with

1/ Le Soir, 18 February 1943.

the Belgian gendarmerie and police in patrolling towns and cities to maintain public order. The Field Gendarmes were professional German police and wore field gray uniforms and a badge marked Feldgendarmerie. 1/

d. The Abwehr and the Political Police (Politische Polizei)

Military espionage and counter-espionage were in the hands of the German intelligence service known as the Abwehr. From the nature of its work this service was an extremely secret one and was unknown to most Belgians and Germans. The special surveillance of King Leopold was one of the duties of this force.

Political intelligence was carried out by the Political Police, which operated under direct orders from von Ribbentrop. Like the Abwehr it was a secret formation.

e. The Landesschutzenverbände

The Landesschutzenverbände were entrusted with the responsibility of guarding special places of particular importance. They wore military uniforms with a band of black velvet around the left sleeve bearing an inscription in Gothic characters.

f. Other Police Organizations

In addition to the regular police organizations there was an organization of German customs officials which worked with Belgian customs at the principal frontier posts. Although there is no specific evidence that units of the Marine Coastal Police (Marine Küstenpolizei) were stationed in Belgium, it is to be expected that the coast line was under the control of the German organization as in other occupied countries.

2. The Reorganization of Existing Belgian Units

Before 1940 the maintenance of law and order was under the jurisdiction of three branches of the police: the National Gendarmes (Gendarmerie Nationale), the Local Police (Police Communale), and the Security Police (Police Judiciarire). All types of Belgian police were non-political.

1/ Le Soir, 18 February 1943.

a. The National Gendarmes (Gendarmerie Nationale)

(1) Pre-War Organization

The Belgian gendarmes were national or state police. Personnel, supplies, and discipline were under the supervision of the Minister of National Defense, but the gendarmes were responsible for the maintenance of order to the Ministers of the Interior and of Justice.

The national gendarmes were organized into mobile regiments and eight territorial groups under the command of a lieutenant general. The first regiment, with headquarters at Brussels, was made up of two mobile groups, one stationed at Brussels and the other at Charleroi. The second regiment, with headquarters at Antwerp, contained one mobile unit stationed at Antwerp and one at Liége. The territorial groups had headquarters in Ghent, Antwerp, Liége, Namur, Bruges, Mons, Brussels, and Hasselt. Each of these groups was composed of two or three companies, forming in all a total of twenty-one companies. Each company was divided into four or five districts, which were under the command of a lieutenant. Districts in turn were subdivided into posts, called brigades, which were established throughout the country. At the time of the invasion, the Belgian gendarmes had an authorized strength of 187 officers and 8,200 men.

Together with the customs officials, the gendarmes guarded the frontier. They supplied police services for the correctional tribunals and for the assize courts, particularly in the guarding and transport of prisoners. In times of national emergency the gendarmes enforced mobilization measures. In cases of strikes, riots, and public disturbances, they were placed at the disposal of the provincial governors, the commissaires d'arrondissement, or the burgomasters. The nature of their assignments and the strictness with which they carried out their orders inspired fear and made them unpopular. Since they

were organized on a national rather than a local level, unlike the local police they often had little in common with the inhabitants of the area in which they performed their duties.

(2) Post-Invasion Reorganization

The National Gendarmes were reorganized by Romsee, the Secretary General of the Interior, to centralize control under his own authority. Many of the changes he initiated, however, had been planned long before the war and were generally accepted as necessary measures.

Under the occupation, the National Gendarmes were called upon to play a far more important role than in the pre-war period. The German authorities were of the opinion that it would prove less difficult to transform them into a subservient tool than to attempt a reorganization of the local police. After reorganizing the gendarmes, therefore, the Germans and the Belgian quislings entrusted to them an important part in policing the country.

(a) Territorial Subdivisions. Both of the pre-war mobile regiments of two groups each were maintained. The first regiment, however, was transformed into a purely Flemish unit for service in Flemish areas, called the Corps de Gendarmerie du Nord de la Belgique, with centers at Brussels, Hasselt, Antwerp, Ghent, and Bruges. The Second regiment became a French-speaking unit for service in the Walloon provinces called the Corps de Gendarmerie du Sud de la Belgique, with centers at Liege, Arlon, Namur, and Mons. A bilingual unit was also formed for service in Brabant, The reorganization thus provided for a Flemish regiment with headquarters in Brussels and a Walloon regiment with headquarters in Liége.

In addition, the following new units were created:

i. One Walloon and one Flemish motorized company of three platoons each with headquarters in Brussels and under the immediate control of the commandant of the Gendarmes. Each company was composed of 3 officers, a master sergeant

(adjutant), 21 non-commissioned officers (grades d'élite), and 107 gendarmes.

ii. Nine partly motorized companies, known as "Escadron F," were charged exclusively with the suppression of fraud. Each company was composed of three platoons consisting of 4 officers, 16 non-commissioned officers, and 82 men. One company was assigned to each of the nine provinces.

iii. One bilingual company (BM), consisting of two platoons.

iv. The ARCA (Atelier de Réparation du Charroi Automobile), a motor-repair shop with headquarters in Brussels.

(b) Recruiting. The system of recruiting new members for the gendarmes was also changed. New regulations enacted in January 1942 required that all lists of candidates be submitted to the occupying authorities. In November 1941 a number of army officers were permitted to transfer to the officers' cadre of the gendarmes on the condition that they sign a declaration that they would not take up arms against the occupying authorities. The command of the gendarmes was entrusted to Dr. van Coppenolle, a well-known collaborationist.

(c) Training. The pre-war instruction group (Groupe de Réserve et d'Instruction) was replaced by two training centers -- one at Antwerp for Flemish recruits and one at Vottem (near Liége) for the Walloon recruits. After an instruction period of from three to six months, the recruits were transferred to the "Escadron F" for a supplementary training period of about six months. The trainees were then transferred to the mobile group for an instruction period of from four to five months before they were eligible to take examinations for non-commissioned rank.

There were two centers of instruction for second lieutenants -- one in Antwerp for the Flemings and another in Terveuren for the Walloons, covering a two-year program.

(d) Numbers. On 10 January 1942 the authorized number of the Belgian gendarmes was as follows:

	1942 requirement	Pre-war figure
Lieutenant General	1	1
General, Colonel, or Major	1	1
Colonels	3	3
Captains	85	66
Lieutenants (First and Second)	133	99
Other officers	30	18
Enlisted men	9,200	8,200
Total	9,453	8,388

The composition of the gendarmes, with respect to old and new members, is indicated below as of 28 August 1942:

	Non-commissioned officers	Enlisted men
Pre-war gendarmes	1,937	5,095
Gendarmes recruited after 10 May 1940		
(Flemings	66	1,464
(Walloons	2	596
Total	2,005	7,155

After August 1942, the staff was reinforced until its table of organization called for 10,200 men.

b. The Communal Police (Police Communale)

(1) Pre-War Organization

The unit of organization of the Communal Police was the commune. They were under the exclusive control of the burgomaster of the commune, who was ex officio chief of police; he was responsible only to the provincial authorities and to the Minister of the Interior.

Before the invasion the Communal Police bore the greatest part of the responsibility for policing the country. The number of policemen and the police organization varied according to the population of the areas, but usually there were three or four policemen for each five thousand inhabitants. They were appointed by the Communal Council; they wore a special uniform and carried arms.

A Commissioner in Chief of Police, appointed by the Minister of the Interior from a list submitted to him by the

Communal Council, assisted the burgomaster in communes of more than five thousand inhabitants. This commissioner -- large towns had several commissioners -- acted also as public prosecutor in the police court and co-operated with the Security Police.

In rural areas police duties were performed by the Rural Police (Gardes Champêtres), who were appointed by the Governor of the Province. The Belgian forests were under the control of a special Forest Guard (Gardes Forestiers).

(2) Post-Invasion Reorganization

The replacement of loyal Belgians with sympathizers for the New Order within the Communal Police was carried out under the provisions of various decrees. That of 12 August 1940, requiring all public officials who had left the country in May 1940 to appear before a commission on their return,1/ gave Romsee his first power. Later the decree replacing all officials over sixty years of age with "younger blood" (see B 1, b) made it possible for him to effect a widespread replacement of personnel.

(a) The Centralization of Authority. A thorough reorganization of the Communal Police was begun in a decree of 1 April 1942 which brought the entire system under the direct control of the Ministry of the Interior.2/ Although the communes were "free to recruit their own police force," they were forced to make their selections from a list of candidates drawn up by the Ministry of the Interior. A further move towards the Nazification of the forces was a system of "education" in special police schools, the first of which was opened at Bruges on 1 June 1942. All policemen under forty years of age were required to complete a course of instruction there before 1 January 1943, 3/ and no new

1/ Moniteur Belge, 22 August 1940.
2/ Ibid., 24 May 1942.
3/ Ibid.

members could be added to the force until they had completed indoctrination courses. To discipline further the Communal Police, Romsee introduced a series of new regulations on 6 August 1942 establishing military practices, including the use of the salute between members of the forces. During the summer of 1943 decrees prescribed the wearing of an identical uniform for all local forces. 1/ An attempt was also made to enroll the police personnel of different units in an association called the Centrale de Police Belge affiliated with the UTMI. (See L 1, e.) The greater number of the police, however, refused to join the new organization and remained loyal to the National Syndicate of the Belgian Police (Syndicat National de la Police Belge).

(b) The Rural Police (Gardes Champêtres).

A special attempt was made to reorganize the Rural Police. A decree, signed by the Secretary General of the Ministry of the Interior, defined the qualifications needed by aspirants to the Rural Police force and stipulated that they should take an indoctrination course. A second decree modified the structure of the rural police. Until that time its organization had varied in each province, and a distinction had been made between the Gardes Champêtres and the Brigadiers Champêtres, who were subordinate to the Commissaire d'Arrondissement. The Brigadiers were to supervise the activity of the Guards and to train them. However, the practical results of the system were not satisfactory. Romsee, therefore, decided to alter this hierarchy and to define exactly the attributes of each grade. The appointment of members of the Rural Police was to proceed as before, but the Brigadiers were to be picked from the Guards of the district and were to be appointed by the Governor upon the

1/ Le Nouveau Journal, 7 June 1943.

recommendation of the Commissaire d' Arrondissement. Chief Brigadiers were to be appointed by the Governor himself. The regionalization of the Rural Police made it necessary for the Department of the Interior to appoint nine inspectors and some thirty Chief Brigadiers. Appointments for the first two grades were made from a list of candidates drawn up at the completion of a period of instruction at Tervueren.

The numbers of Rural Policemen for each municipality were drawn up on the following basis:

(1) Exclusively rural municipalities of less than five thousand inhabitants were entitled to appoint from one to three rural police, with the exception of municipalities of less than a thousand inhabitants covering an area of a thousand hectares. Municipalities of this category combined with others to obtain the services of one man.

(2) In semi-rural municipalities of less than five thousand inhabitants the rural police were appointed as in the case of the rural municipalities, but the number of ordinary policemen in the service of the municipality was deducted.

(3) With the consent of the Governor of the Province, rural communities of over five thousand inhabitants could maintain a police force not to exceed three Rural Policemen.1/

c. The Security Police (Police Judiciaire)

The Security Police was organized in 1920 to investigate crimes and other matters concerning state security. Although under the authority of the Minister of Justice, it acted under orders from the district attorneys (Procureurs). Another section, called Sûreté de L'Etat, was also under the supervision of the Minister of Justice.

During the occupation few changes were made in the organization of the Security Police, which remained under the

1/ News Digest, No. 1166, 20 June 1943, p.26, quoting Le Nouveau Journal, 3 May 1943.

supervision of the district attorneys. In May 1943 it was reported that the King's Prosecutor at Liége was recruiting inspectors for a new service within the organization, to be called the Brigade Politique, for supervising the police and for investigating saboteurs and assassins.

3. New Belgian Police Organizations

To augment the existing forces, Romsee created new types of police forces recruited among quislings and subbordinated directly to his office or to other quisling leaders.

a. The Food Controllers (Controleurs de Ravitaillement)

A special police organization was set up under the Ministry of Agriculture to combat the black market and to supervise food rationing regulations. Its members were recruited from former officers and non-commissioned officers of the Belgian Army. On 20 August 1941 it was combined with a similar organization established under the Commissioner for Prices and Wages (Commissaire aux Prix et Salaires) for controlling salaries and prices and was attached to the Ministry of the Interior under Director General Woestijn. (See L 1, d.) In March 1941 there were more than six thousand Controleurs, the greater part of whom were formerly a part of the control service of the Price and Wage Commissioner.

Each of the nine Belgian provinces had its own control service group, which in turn was divided into districts corresponding to the arrondissements. The gendarmes especially the Mobile Brigades, worked in close co-operation with this service.

b. The Rural Guard (Garde Rurale -- Boerenwacht)

The German-inspired agricultural organization (Corporation Nationale de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation -- CNAA) in July 1941 created the Rural Guard, known as the Boerenwacht in Flanders and the Garde Rurale in Wallonia, for protecting agricultural property and crops against

saboteurs. 1/ (See I 3.) The national organization was controlled by the CNAA and the local units were under the burgomasters. The organization contained one man for each ten hectares, and was made up of volunteer agricultural workers. They were ununiformed.

c. The Factory Guard (Dietsche-Militie Wacht Brigade)

Flemish and Walloon factory guards, established by the Belgian quislings (see O 2, c), were under the orders of the German military authorities to assist the Feldgendarmerie. In the beginning of 1943, Elias, the leader of the Flemish Fascist Party (VNV) announced that the Flemish Factory Guard was to be directly subordinate to him and was to form an independent fighting formation called the DM Watch Brigade (Dietsche-Militie Wacht Brigade). Turcksin, of the VNV, was made chief and leader of the formation, and Bert Mewis was named acting commander. The duties of the DM Watch Brigade were (1) to assist the Wehrmacht by watching important buildings and searching for saboteurs; (2) to receive training as political soldiers for the defense of the country. A school was established near Brussels. 2/ Its members wore black uniforms with a distinctive arm band.

In September 1943, a special Canal Guard was formed in order to safeguard the passage of supplies along canals and waterways.

d. The Flemish Guard (Vlaamsche Wacht) and the Walloon Guard (Garde Wallonia)

The Flemish Guard and the Walloon Guard were auxiliary police forces established by the German authorities to help the Belgian police and gendarmes maintain public order. They were composed of volunteers, for the most part recruited from ex-service men. Training and discipline were on the German model.

1/ Review of the Foreign Press, 13 August 1942, quoting Le Soir, 27 May 1942.
2/ News Digest, No. 1065, 24 February 1943, quoting Volk en Staat, 23 January 1943.

The Commandant of the Flemish guard was Naets, and the Commandants of the Walloon guard were Major Torne and Commandant Malherbe. The officers and men wore the old uniforms of the Belgian Army, dyed dark blue with yellow (Flemish) or red (Walloon) trimmings, and with a crown of oak leaves in sabres on the chest.

e. The Citizens' Guard

In the Greater Brussels area the burgomaster informed the population in February 1943 that, by order of the German authorities, a citizens'guard would be formed for strengthening the security of the city. This service was to start on 15 March 1943 and was to function during the evening and night. There is no evidence that similar groups were formed in other Belgian cities.

f. The Political Militia

In September 1941 three types of political militia were recognized as auxiliary police formations: the Black Brigade (Zwarte Brigade), the Flemish SS (Vlaamsche SS), and the Combat Formation (Formation de Combat). (See O 2, c.)

g. The Air Raid Protection Service (Luftbeschirmung -- LB)

Little is known of the organization of the Air Raid Precaution Service in Belgium. Various reports have made it clear, however, that it was not until the middle of 1941 that a reliable municipal service began to function. The training and supervision of its members were under German direction. They received special instruction in medical duties, gas detection, demolition, and other branches of the service. They wore Belgian Army uniforms dyed black and army helmets painted black with the letters "LB" and a brim painted white. The members of the service were almost all quislings from the VNV or the SS and received special passes authorizing them to be out after the curfew.

The Belgian Air Raid Precaution Service was reorganized in 1943 into an ARP Commissariat General under the leadership of L. Dautrebande. The reorganization included the creation of a central body on which local organizations could draw in the event of air raids or when additional assistance was needed in times of emergency, and the organization of regional and local services under the Secretary General.

E. PUBLIC HEALTH AND SOCIAL WELFARE

1. German Health Insurance (Deutsche Krankenkasse in Belgien)

By a decree of 6 January 1941 the Germans created the organization "German Health Insurance," which provided medical care for members of the families of Belgian workers in Germany. 1/ Belgian hospitals were required to admit members of this organization.

2. The Belgian Medical Association (Corporation Médicale Belge) and Health Insurance

On 30 November 1941 the Secretary General of the Ministry of the Interior and of Public Health ordered the creation of a medical association, in which membership was compulsory for all Belgian physicians, to replace the Belgian Medical Federation (Fédération Médicale Belge). When the Federation opposed the measure, the Germans authorized its dissolution and the transfer of its property to the new organization, and ordered it to assume all the functions of the Federation. 2/

In July 1943 the Corporation concluded an agreement with the Public Health Insurance Societies with the view of establishing a single insurance organization and setting up a system of general compulsory health insurance. The two parties agreed to establish a National Medical Insurance Committee, composed of delegates of both the doctors and the Public Health Insurance Societies, which would form a single Public Health Insurance Society and establish compulsory health insurance. 3/

3. The Belgian Red Cross

After the invasion, the Belgian Red Cross was

1/ Moniteur Belge, 16 January 1941.
2/ Vol. Belg., 25 February 1943, p. 1243.
3/ News Digest, No. 1217, 20 August 1943, quoting Le Nouveau Journal.

extended to include assistance to Belgian prisoners of war in Germany and their families at home, and child welfare.

The uncompromising attitude of the Red Cross was often attacked by the German-inspired press. 1/ In 1943 its patriotic directors were dismissed and replaced by collaborators, among them Romsee and Baron Eduard Empain. 2/

4. The Winter Help (Secours d'Hiver)

The Winter Help (Secours d'Hiver) was the only Belgian organization permitted to collect money for relief and assistance. Created in the autumn of 1940, it met with general disfavor at first because it was similar to the German Winter Help (Winterhilfe). Its director was Paul Hymans, former Minister of Economic Affairs. The general attitude toward the Winter Help became more and more favorable, however, after persons such as Cardinal Van Roey made it clear that the organization was a purely Belgian one for the exclusive benefit of the Belgian people. In one year the Winter Help spent 771 million Belgian francs. 3/

The meagerness of the Belgian scale of rations (see I 5, b) and the limited supplies of unrationed foods made it essential to provide some assistance for poorer town-dwellers, who could not afford black market purchases. Such assistance was given mainly through the Winter Help or such charitable organizations as the National Children's Movement in the form of people's soup kitchens, one-course canteens, and cheap restaurants.

The Communal soup kitchens organized by local committees of the Winter Help were available to consumers

1/ News Digest, No. 1321, 20 December 1943, quoting the Rexist paper, L'Avenir.
2/ La Libre Belgique, 15 February 1943.
3/ Het Laatste Nieuws, 1 September 1943.

whose means were not more than twice the maximum fixed for persons eligible for public assistance. One-course canteens and cheap restaurants operated mainly by Winter Help Committees were set up for persons whose means were not more than three times the amount fixed by the public assistance authorities. Coupons had to be surrendered for rationed foods in canteens and restaurants. There have also been frequent reports of industrial concerns supplying their workmen with unrationed food in order to maintain their working efficiency.

5. Quisling Welfare Organizations

The various quisling parties created their own relief and welfare organizations. The Rexist party, for example, created organizations known as Le Bien-être du Peuple (the Well-Being of the People), Centre d'Information Sociale (the Social Information Center -- CIS), and Maisons Wallonnes (Walloon Houses). 1/

Various attempts were made from time to time to provide for the welfare of Belgian collaborators, such as the plea of the Brussels Radio in March 1943 urging Flemish physicians to join the Dietsche Militia Motor Brigade, which was volunteering for service with the NSKK (See 02, c) in Russia. The radio announced "Flemish volunteers in the NSKK are in great need of doctors of their own." 2/

1/ News Digest, No. 1326, 25 December 1943, quoting Le Pays Réel.
2/ FCC: Daily Report, quoting Radio Brussels in Flemish, 31 March 1943.

F. EDUCATION

1. The Pre-War Educational System

Primary instruction in Belgium was free and compulsory. There were three groups of primary schools: the communal schools, the "adopted" schools, and the "adoptable" schools.

Communal schools were under governmental control. In 1936 there were 5,168 communal schools with a total enrollment of 483,783. The "adopted" schools were private institutions, in most cases affiliated with the Roman Catholic Church, and supported from public funds provided by the communal authorities. In 1936 there were 2,060 "adopted" schools in Belgium with a school attendance of 297,832. The "adoptable" schools were also Church schools which, in exchange for state subsidies, were subject to state supervision. In 1936 there were 1,386 such schools with an enrollment of 183,187 pupils. In addition to the primary schools there were in Belgium three types of nursery schools, as well as a complete system of provincial, state, normal, and technical schools. The expenses of establishing schools were contributed one-third by the central government, one-sixth to one-third by the provincial government, and the rest by the communes. The cost of maintenance was borne exclusively by the communes. The salaries of the teaching staff were paid by the state. The Minister of Public Instruction was in charge of the entire school system.

Higher education in Belgium was represented chiefly by four universities, two of which belonged to the state. The two state universities were that at Liége, where the lectures were given in French, and that at Ghent, where

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1/ Annuaire Statistique de la Belgique, 1939.

they were given in Flemish. The two independent universities were the Catholic University at Louvain, under the control of the Belgian bishops, and the Université Libre of Brussels, a non-sectarian university under the direction of an independent Administrative Council. In 1936 attendance at these universities was as follows:

Liége	2,215
Ghent	1,285
Louvain	4,118
Brussels	2,716
Total	10,334

2. German Regulation of Belgian Education

a. The School System

The first measure adopted by the Germans to establish their control over education was the replacement of the Director General of the Ministry of Education with two Directorates -- one for elementary and secondary schools, and the other for higher education.

To counteract the transfer of pupils from schools under Government supervision to private schools not under the authority of the Secretaries General, the German authorities decreed on 29 August 1942 that no school could be opened and no new classes established in an existing school without the authorization of the German Military Commander. 1/ In addition to limiting the enrollment of non-collaborationist schools, this decree made possible the establishment of New Order schools designed to inculcate the principles of National Socialism. A boarding school for boys was established at Vilvorde for training Flemish Nazi leaders. In 1942 DEVLAG (see N 2, b) opened special schools in Antwerp and in other Flemish centers for children of members of the collaborationist parties. Jeunesse Légionnaire,

1/ News Digest, No. 1233, 8 September 1942, p. 31, quoting De Vlaamsche Post, 29 August 1942.

the youth organization of the fascist Rex party (see O 2, C) opened similar schools at Brussels, Liége, and Charleroi in 1944.

The segregation of Jewish students was achieved by authorizing the Association of Jews in Berlin (see M 2) to establish and maintain elementary schools, high schools, and technical schools for Jewish students under the supervision of the Ministry of Education. 1/

b. Teaching Personnel

The first measure designed to remove teachers unfavorable to the German regime from the teaching force was the establishment of a commission in September 1940 before which public school teachers who had left the country at the time of invasion and had since returned were to account for their absence. Although this commission was empowered to take disciplinary action, including the dismissal of any teachers from his post, only a few hundred teachers were affected. The German decree ordering the resignation of all civil servants over sixty years of age (see B 1, b) also affected a small number of teachers. In November 1940 all Jewish teachers in regular schools and in universities were dismissed. 2/

A year later a more sweeping measure was introduced by transferring the powers of appointment and dismissal from the communal councils to the Secretary General of the Interior, Gerard Romsee, assisted by an advisory commission composed of a bilingual chairman and five Flemish and five Walloon members. Romsee, whose intention was to apply a "course of disinfection to the whole ecucational body" issued a decree validating teachers' diplomas issued in 1917 and 1918 by a German-appointed examining board.

1/ Vbl. Belg., 2 December 1941, p. 801.
2/ Vbl. Belg., 5 November 1940, p. 280.

The program, however, was difficult to execute, and his annual report of 1942 indicated that many communes had failed to notify him of vacancies in the schools.

Further control over the teaching personnel was obtained by the abolition of the General Federation of Teachers (Fédération Générale des Instituteurs) and the amalgamation of all organizations of teachers into a single union (Corporation de L'Enseignement), which was affiliated with the Nazi-sponsored Union of Manual and Intellectual Workers. (See L 1, e.) This organization not only served to control the teaching personnel but facilitated the reformation of the educational program.

c. The Teaching Program

Shortly after the occupation, the German authorities ordered a revision of all school books. The Secretary General of Education created a special commission to expurgate from textbooks all interpretations which were contrary to the New Order, particularly in history and geography texts. Cultural councils, established in October 1940 1/ to promote cultural relations with Germany, were given extensive advisory powers for the modification of the teaching program. Under their supervision an entirely reorganized school program was designed by the General Education Council and the provincial Chambers of Pedagogy. By February 1942, however, the program had not been widely adopted.

In line with their general policy of favoring the Flemings, the German authorities promoted the use of the Flemish language in the schools. In August 1940 the Secretary General of the Interior appointed a special Language Control Commission (Commission de Contrôle Linguistique) to supervise the strict application of the

1/ Moniteur Belge, 13 October 1940.

national languages in the fields of administration, law, and education. 1/ . Under the leadership of a Flemish extremist, this commission proceeded to extend the use of Flemish in the school system. After a decree making Brussels a Flemish area, it forced the municipal authorities and the boards of public kindergartens and the elementary schools to transfer all Flemish-speaking children into Flemish classes, even against the will of their parents. By July 1941, 6,700 children of the Brussels area were shifted to 306 newly established Flemish classes. Similar measures were applied in other towns near the linguistic line. Likewise, the study of German was given a more prominent place in the schools. It was decreed the official language in the schools of the Eupen and Malmedy regions (annexed to the Greater Reich) and in communal schools of the Arlon area (Belgian Luxembourg).

d. Higher Education

The German authorities established a more rigid control of higher education than in the elementary and secondary schools. Louvain University, because of the protection of the Roman Catholic Church, was the only university able in some measure to escape German regulation. The University of Brussels was closed by the Germans when it assumed the leading role in resisting the Nazi reorganization of the educational system. The two state universities, being under the immediate supervision of the Ministry of Education, were subject to direct German pressure.

During the first months of the occupation, the German authorities did not disturb the universities. To give the appearance of normalcy, they were encouraged to hold examination sessions in June 1940 and to begin the new academic year as usual in October. As soon as the universities convened,

1/ Moniteur Belge, 27 September 1940.

however, the Germans began to exercise closer control by installing German representatives in the two state universities and in the Free University of Brussels. Louvain alone was not directly supervised.

At the time of the invasion, some three hundred professors went to France. Those who chose to return were released from their teaching posts. The German authorities then forced the removal of all Jewish professors and of all known anti-Nazis. At the same time, they insisted on the appointment of German and Belgian collaborationist professors, especially at the University of Ghent. Among the Flemish fascists appointed to these posts were Professors van Roosbroeck, Speelers, Martens, and Jacobs.

German attempts to impose similar measures on the Free University of Brussels were unsuccessful and resulted in its being closed. At first the occupying authorities had demanded only that the university enlarge its program of instruction in Flemish. In September 1941 the Administrative Council agreed to establish eighteen professorships in Flemish, but refused to appoint three German candidates with Nazi sympathies. When the Administrative Council decided to suspend its lectures rather than submit to the German demands, eight of its members were taken to a concentration camp. Finally, in December 1941, the Germans ordered the University closed "for subversive political activities."

On 9 February 1943, the German authorities ordered that the first-year students of all universities must report to the Labor Exchange of their university town on or before 20 March 1943 (see L 2, b) for six months' compulsory labor. The rectors of the three universities wrote a joint letter of protest and refused to send the

names of their students to the occupying authorities. The Germans retaliated by arresting the Rector of Louvain University and by ordering that no student could be admitted to a Belgian university without having spent a year in the labor service. This order virtually closed all the Belgian universities.

G. PROPAGANDA AND CENSORSHIP

1. Creation of the Propaganda Division (Propaganda Abteilung)

Prior to the war, Belgium had no official propaganda or information agency. The Germans, however, attached a Propaganda Division to the headquarters of the Military Commander for Belgium and Northern France. This propaganda agency was charged with adapting the directives of the German Propaganda Ministry to the circumstances in Belgium. Instead of exerting a direct censorship, the Propaganda Division issued directives, which the newspapers, broadcasting stations, theaters, and movies were forced to follow. They were obliged to issue German news comments and were forbidden to disseminate news from non-German sources.

2. Newspapers and Books

The principle of liberty of the press is guaranteed by the Belgian Constitution and was ecrupulously observed prior to the German occupation. On the day following the occupation, the Belgian authorities suppressed the Flemish Nationalist and Rexist press. Soon afterward, all the other papers ceased to appear in order not to submit to the supervision and censorship of the advancing Germans.

The Germans brought the Belgian press under their control by enacting a series of decrees even before they had completed the occupation of the country. The basis of their control was established in the first place by adapting general regulations to the publishing industry. They used the decree authorizing the German military administration to nominate temporary administrators for establishments whose managers had left their posts; such

administrations were to provide newspapers with collaborationist staffs. 1/ The term "public activity" in the decree forbidding persons engaged in public activity who had left the country because of the war to resume their posts was extended to include both the press and the radio. 2/ Finally, the publication of newspapers and magazines which had been interrupted because of war conditions could not be resumed, and the establishment of new magazines and papers was prohibited. 3/

Strict regulations restricting the publication and sale of all printed matter were established. It was forbidden to sell anti-German newspapers, magazines, or books, particularly those written by any individual who had emigrated from Germany on any pretex. 4/ Editors of books or political or military subjects were required to submit all manuscripts to the Military Commander for his authorization before publication. 5/ Although cameramen, cartoonists, and photographic press agencies were permitted to carry on with the authorization of the Military Commander, the publication of picutres and drawings was permitted only with the approval of the Propaganda Division. 6/. More complete control was achieved by requiring all owners of publishing houses and book stores to become members of one of the professional associations, such as the Cercle Belge de la Librairie. 7/

By means of these decrees, the Germans prevented most newspaper proprietors, directors and writers from

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1/ Vbl. Belg., 17 June 1940, p. 29.
2/ Vbl. Belg., 25 June 1940, p. 131.
3/ Vbl. Belg., 17 June 1940, p. 40.
4/ Vbl. Belg., 13 August 1940, p. 151.
5/ Vbl. Belg., 22 August 1940, p. 175.
6/ Vbl. Belg., 7 December 1940, p. 416.
7/ Vbl. Belg., 26 November 1940, p. 307.

resuming their former activity and thus gained complete control over all printed matter. The few newspapers which had always been pro-fascist and pro-German were allowed to reappear under their former management. Thus Volk en Staat, Le Pays Réel, and Cassandre continued to be published. Some liberal papers, such as Le Soir and Het Laatste Nieuws, continued to appear in their original form, but they were provided with collaborationist editors and writers. Le Nouveau Journal was the most important newspaper created after the German invasion; it used the installations of the former socialist paper, Le Peuple. The most influential daily paper published under the occupation was the German Brüsseler Zeitung. Belgian workers in Germany were permitted to publish newspapers in their own language under rigid German supervision. 1/

In 1943 the German authorities issued another series of decrees tightening their control of the Belgian press. Owners of printing presses were required to obtain special authorization to continue operation 2/, and the manufacture of printing supplies was brought under the control of the Propaganda Division in Berlin. 3/ No newspapers or magazines could be published after 1 August 1943 without obtaining the authorization of the Propaganda Division before 1 July, 4/ a date later postponed to 31 August. 5/

3. The Radio

Prior to the occupation there were eighteen radio stations in Belgium broadcasting for domestic reception; the two important ones were government-controlled and

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1/ News Digest, No. 1176, 3 July 1943, quoting Radio Zeesen.
2/ Vbl. Belg., 3 April 1943, p. 1265.
3/ Ibid.
4/ Vbl. Belg., 26 May 1943, p. 1321.
5/ News Digest, No. 1219, 21 August 1943, p. 33.

were subsidized by license fees. The smaller stations were commercial ventures. It is estimated that at the close of 1939 there were in Belgium 1,148,659 receiving sets. In the large cities chain-radio sets were in frequent use; that is, one set was used by more than one household, several loudspeakers being hooked with multiple extension wires to a single receiver.

After the German occupation, the Belgian broadcasting system came entirely under German military control. An order from the Military Commander prohibited all listening to foreign broadcasts, whether in public places, in small groups, or individually. Any infringement of this order was usually punished with forced labor and confiscation of the radio. Permission was granted to listen only to German stations, or to those in occupied countries which were directly controlled by Germany.

The radio broadcasts in occupied Belgium well controlled by a German army officer, the son of Dr. Verhees, a collaborator with the Germans during the last war. Verhees was assisted by two Flemish extremists -- Wies Moens and Ferdinand Verknoche -- and by two Rexists -- Seige Doring and José Streel.

The influence of the war on the number of Belgian radio listeners can be seen from the following table showing the number of subscribers and the total amounts of subscriptions received:

	No. of radio sets 1/	Total taxes in frs.
1939	1,148,659	87,570,222.91
1940	999,468	76,558,474.80
1941	852,343	65,733,632.27
1942	802,417	64,308,407.50

On 11 April 1944 the German authorities ordered the confiscation of all radio receiving sets in the Antwerp

1/ Le Soir, 4 June 1943.

district, 1/ and later extended the order to include Ghent and Ostend. 2/ Excluded from the order were German nationals residing in Belgium and members of the Flemish and Walloon quisling formations.

4. The Motion Picture Industry and the Theater

The only censorship to which films were subjected in Belgium before the war was that of the Control Commission (Commission de Contrôle), which determined whether a picture could be shown to children under sixteen years of age.

After 6 August 1940, however, no film could be shown without the authorization of the German censor. All persons engaged in the production of films were compelled to become members of a single organization, and operating permits were taken away from all theaters owned by Jewish, British, American, or French capital. Many owners of moving picture theaters were forced to sell their buildings to German groups. Thus either directly or indirectly the authorities gained control of all theaters.

The German authorities also controlled the offerings of all motion picture theaters. The showing of British and American films was banned, and when the authorities discovered that the public preferred old French films to German productions, they were added to the proscribed list. 3/ Every theater was required to show UFA newsreels as a part of the program.

Theaters could be operated only with the permission of the Military Commander. His office also subjected the programs of all theaters and concerts to strict censorship, forbade the appearance of Jewish artists, and greatly restricted the performance of French actors.

1/ Inbel, 30 May 1944.
2/ Bern wire, 19 April 1944.
3/ Vbl. Belg., 28 September 1940, p. 216.

H. INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

Prior to the war Belgium made no attempt to pursue a plicy of autarchy. It had adopted instead a policy of international division of labor which allowed Belgium to concentrate upon the production of those articles for which it had special aptitudes. Belgium, therefore, had an economic structure based upon the intensive utilization of its resources, and it became the most highly industrialized state in Europe. Labor was well organized. In 1939, 60 percent of the industrial workers belonged to workers' unions, of which the Socialist and Catholic were the strongest.

Under German occupation, Belgium's economic organization was completely reorganized according to the German pattern. The imposed Nazi pattern was essentially opportunist and did not follow a well-defined bluepring. Germany's only announced plan for economic reorganization was explained by Dr. Walter Funk when he declared: "The object of the New Order is to guarantee to the greater Reich a maximum of economic security and to the German people a maximum of consumption."1/

Belgium's economy was reorganized through measures and orders issued by (1) German military authorities in Belgium, and (2) Belgian Secretaries General.

The first German ordinances and decrees dealing with economic matters were issued on the day of the invasion. In the initial proclamation to the population of the occupied territory, it was stated that shops, plants, banks, etc., should remain open in the interest of the people. Tc achieve an orderly and equitable distribution of supplies among the people the hoarding of goods of

1/ Foreign Policy Reports, 15 August 1942.

every-day need was forbidden. Furthermore, increase in prices, wages or remunerations of any kind, and salaries was prohibited. The proclamation, moreover, fixed the rate of exchange of the Belgian franc in relation to the Reichsmark. 1/

From the start of the invasion, and step by step with the occupation of new areas by the German Army, the economy of the region was reorganized by the German military authorities. The economic units of the German Army were charged with the task of obtaining resources for the continuation of the war.

The greater part of the administrative reorganization of Belgium's economy was effected through orders of the Secretaries General. To what extent German pressure controlled the issuance of these orders is known in some cases only. It is evident, however, that the orders published by the Belgian officials formed part of the structure of the Nazi pattern of economic administration.

The Nazi pattern of economic administration was introduced by the creation of a great number of new organizations which aimed at centralizing the economic structure of the country. Besides the orders establishing new economic administrative organizations, the German authorities and the local Belgian officials issued ordinances of a general character which had a far-reaching influence on the economic life of the country.

On 20 May 1940, the German military authorities stipulated that all vital industries and organizations must continue functioning. According to this ruling, whenever for one reason or another an enterprise could not function because of the absence of a responsible manager,

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1/ Vbl. Belg., 10 May 1940, pp. 2-16.

the Army command or an authority designated by the Army could appoint an administrator for that enterprise. 1/ One week later, 27 May 1940, it was decreed that the Army would create special services for the control of certain products. 2/ These agencies were given extensive powers over procurement, distribution, storage, sales, and consumption.

The organic law reorganizing Belgian economy was promulgated by the Secretaries General on 10 February 1941. It gave the head of the Ministry of Economic Affairs the right to issue regulations governing the national economy and to take measures which he might consider necessary to enforce the regulations. By the decree, this Ministry obtained the power to exercise almost complete control over the economic life of the country. The ordinance also created the administrative framework by which this control was to be exercised. In general terms it provided for the following:

1. The creation of economic associations, organized according to trades, industries, and regions, and designated as the sole official representatives within their respective spheres of economic activity. These economic associations were given the force of agencies of public law.

2. The reorganization into agencies of public law of the existing trade or occupational associations, uniting several into one such organization, establishing bylaws and, when necessary, making rules for the management, and arranging for the transfer to it of the assets of the existing associations.

3. Subjection of all industrial, commercial, and trade enterprises to the orders of the new economic organizations. This subordination applied to Belgian, foreign, and colonial enterprises having branch establishments in Belgium, and also to any enterprise under public administration.

4. Establishment of the objectives, powers, rights, privileges, and obligations of the economic organizations and of their members.

1/ Vbl. Belg., 17 June 1940, p.23.
2/ Ibid., p. 37.

5. Reservation to the Secretary General of the Ministry of Economic Affairs of the power to appoint and dismiss managers and members of the governing boards of the economic organizations. 1/

By creating in this manner the framework for economic totalitarianism and furnishing a basis for integrating Belgian economy into German economy, the decree prepared the way for the mobilization and control of the distribution of raw materials, the co-ordination of the means of production, and the representation for the various trades, occupations, and professions in organizations.

A large number of decrees, stemming from this basic decree, were issued to establish specific economic organizations. On 30 March 1942 the German authorities forbade individuals to found, enlarge, or close down enterprises. Only the German Military Commander was given power to authorize exceptions to this blanket prohibition. 2/ By this order the Germans obtained virtually full control of Belgian economy.

These general ordinances demonstrate that the reorganization of the Belgian economy was based as much upon German military decrees as upon ordinances promulgated by the local Belgian officials.

1. Industrial Controls

After the beginning of 1941, the German authorities prohibited the publication of industrial statistics. It thus became difficult to estimate the industrial output of the country or to study production in relation to the industrial reorganization.

On 6 August 1942 the Military Commander issued an ordinance forbidding the production of certain products. 3/

1/ Moniteur Belge, 15 February 1941.
2/ Vbl. Belg., 15 April 1942, p.865.
3/ Vbl. Belg., 12 August 1942, p. 984.

In the same Verordnungsblatt it was stated that all construction works amounting to more than ten thousand Belgian francs could be undertaken only with the permission of the Military Commander. 1/

German industrial control was exercised through two agencies -- German Commissioners (Commissaires) in control of specified industries, and Central Commodities Offices (Offices Centraux de Marchandises), official Belgian organizations.

a. The German Commissioners (Commissaires)

The German Commissioners were for the most part reserve officers appointed by the Military Commander. They were to insure the launching and operation of industrial enterprises, supervise the execution of all orders, and see that production was increased. They did not represent the enterprises which they supervised, but took part in all deliberations affecting the industry. On 8 May 1941 the military administration was empowered to submit certain industries to the control of German experts.

b. The Central Commodities Offices (Offices Centraux de Marchandises)

Complete control of Belgium's economic structure was achieved by organizing control agencies for each economic activity of the country. The Central Commodities Offices were established by decrees of the Secretary General of Economic Affairs on 2 and 3 September 1940, in order to organize the production, distribution, and consumption of industrial products through control over the distribution of stocks, raw materials, sales, purchases, and transportation of industrial products. In practice, however, they were not concerned with the details of consumption, which were

1/ Ibid., p. 986.

the responsibility of the Service Générale de la Distribution et des Stocks. (See H 1, c.)

The first commodities offices were established for the following industries: coal, iron, steel, non-ferrous metals, chemical products, industrial oils and fats, textile products, hides, tobacco, and waste materials. These offices worked in close co-operation with the Wirtschaftsabteilung of the German administration in Belgium, which had sections corresponding to the Commodities Offices.

The approval of the Central Commodities Offices was necessary for the transfer of any commodity. The seller was required to obtain a license to transfer material, and the buyer was required to obtain a license for using the material. A license was required even for the transfer of materials from one section to another of the same plant. 1/ Every individual in an enterprise producing, manufacturing, or trading in non-ferrous metals was required to keep a special register and to report monthly to the central agency the movements of supplies and the quantities held, including the origin of incoming metals and the destinations of all outgoing products. The use of non-ferrous metals for manufacturing was limited to a certain number of products enumerated in a special regulation of the Central Commodities Office for Non-ferrous Metals (Office Central des Métaux Non-ferreux.) 2/

Priorities for distribution of raw materials appear to have been granted in the following order: the occupying military authorities, German suppliers, Belgian suppliers for military purposes, Belgian firms repairing roads and bridges, Belgian railways, Belgian collieries,

1/ Moniteur Belge, 26 October 1941.
2/ The German Exploitation of Belgium (1942), p.9, quoting R. Ardenne, Echo de la Bourse, 20 August 1941 and 27-28 April 1941.

and Belgian gas and electric works.

The Central Commodities Offices also had a leading hand in organizing the Caisses de Compensation Industrielle, which were created to grant indemnities to entrepreneurs forced out of business by the operation of economic decrees.

c. The General Services for Distribution and for Stocks (Services Générales de la Distribution et des Stocks)

The General Services for Distribution and for Stocks was an organization set up to control consumption. It was made up of two divisions, one under the supervision of the Ministry of Economic Affairs and the other under the Ministry of Agriculture and Food. It was empowered to issue decrees and to give supplementary instructions by means of circulars published by its regional offices.

d. Trade Associations

Under German occupation the Belgian trade associations were completely reorganized and reduced to consultative agencies without much direct influence. This diminution of their powers was effected by Secretary General Leemans of the Ministry of Economic Affairs under powers accorded him in February 1941.

(1) The Central Industrial Committee (Le Comité Central Industriel)

In September 1941 the Central Industrial Committee was formed by the creation of a number of major industrial groups. These groups were divided into professional and sub-professional groups, each under the direction of a chief assisted by a consultative council. The existence of fifteen major industrial groups and three professional groups is known, and it was reported in the latter part of 1942 that 193 groups and sub-groups had been organized. The chiefs of the major industrial groups were appointed by

the Secretary General for Economic Affairs; they in turn appointed the chiefs of the professional and sub-professional groups within their associations.

The exact role to be played by the various groups in the organization was not clearly defined. In a note to the major industrial group of the textile industry, however, it was stated that this body should occupy itself with the professional organization and execution of all missions entrusted to them by the Ministry of Economic Affairs. Furthermore, the groups were to give advice on various problems submitted to them, to make suggestions concerning the industrial activity of the group, and to give technical, economic and fiscal information to its members.

These groups were the Belgian counterpart of the German Reichswirtschaftskammer. In addition to these trade groups, which constituted the vertical structure of the Belgian economy, regional organizations were created. These, constituting the horizontal structure of the "economic chambers," grouped all enterprises of the region irrespective of the nature of their enterprise. These economic chambers defended the common interest of all industries in a specific area. The chiefs of these chambers were appointed by the Secretary General of Economic Affairs.

(2) The Main Handicraft Committee (Groupement Principal de l'Artisanat)

Small concerns and individuals not included in the Central Industrial Committee were organized under a Secretariat of Handicraft (Secrétariat de l'Artisanat) into a similar organization known as the Main Handicraft Committee. This committee was the result of an attempt of the Secretary General of Economic Affairs to organize manual laborers into 175 independent manual professional groups on 27 May and 16 June 1941. Since the organization of so many independent groups was found ineffective, the organization

was recast into eight professional groups divided into sixty professional sub-groups.

The thirteenth-century concept of the guild (gilde) was taken as the basis for the organization. The principal professional group was called the Gilde Principal, and each professional sub-group was called a Gilde. In June 1943 there were 150,000 members of the Main Handicraft Committee divided into sub-groups for the following trades: metal work, lumber, textiles, construction, engraving, leather, food, and cleaning and personal hygiene. Later various other groups were created.

The administrative organization of the committee included a direction, a study service, a distribution service, a central administration, secretariats, and local secretariats. Provincial offices were established at Bruges, Ghent, Antwerp, Hasselt, Brussels, Namur, Mons, and Liége, Its numerous activities included in particular the study of the following problems:

(a) The adaptation of production to present conditions.

(b) Raw material problems, including the use of Ersatz materials.

(c) The cost of production, price adaptation, and competition.

(d) The co-ordination of sales and purchases.

(e) Propaganda for manual production, the organization of expositions and industrial fairs.

2. Foreign Trade

Prior to the invasion, the import and export of many goods had been placed under a licensing system by the Belgian Government. The list of controlled commodities was completed later by the Secretaries General and covered practically the entire field of foreign trade. On 17 June 1940, the German military authorities ordered that Belgian

authorities could grant authorization for the import or export of goods only with the approval of the military authorities. The decree contained a supplementary clause stating that "in some instances the military authorities will give authorization themselves."

Foreign trade statistics issued by the Germans are very difficult to assess. Germany, of course, counted "requisitioning" in the category of "export"; thus the DNB could state on 25 May 1943 that the volume of Belgian foreign trade in 1942 was 8 percent less than in 1941, although the increasing concentration of Belgian industry and the continued employment of Belgian labor in the Reich were naturally bound to result in a decline in production. 1/

Foreign trade was increasingly directed to Germany, Holland, and France. These countries together took 94 percent of Belgium's foreign trade; Germany took 78 percent in 1942 (72 percent in 1941, 12 percent in 1938); France took 13 percent in 1942 (10 percent in 1941, 15 percent in 1938); and Holland took 4 percent in 1942 (13 percent in 1941, 12 percent in 1938). According to Belgian figures, Germany delivered 56 percent of the goods imported by Belgium in 1942 (66 percent in 1941, 11 percent in 1938); France, 21 percent in 1942 (11 percent in 1941, 10 percent in 1938); and Holland, 9 percent in 1942 (12 percent in 1941, 9 percent in 1938.

The Ministry of Economic Affairs brought together in a General Office of Foreign Trade (Direction Générale du Commerce Extérieur) all the administrative functions for the commerce of Belgium with other countries.

3. Axis Penetration of Belgian Business

Many German firms established representatives in Belgium. Some of them merely set up offices with small staffs, but a

1/News Digest, No. 1146, 29 May 1943, p.22, quoting DNB.

large number opened branches, factories, and repair shops. Several of these firms later increased their capital. Persil (belonging to the Heinkel Co. of Düsseldorf) increased its capital from 10 to 20 million Belgian francs, and Siemens from one million to six million francs. A subsidiary to Krupp was established at Brussels with a capital of one hundred twenty-five million francs. The board of directors of the new enterprise was responsible to the parent company in Essen.

A less conspicuous method of German economic incursion was the acquisition of a controlling interest in existing Belgian enterprises. Among the industries encroached upon by Germany were the electrical, chemical and pharmaceutical, coal, steel, agricultural and mining machinery, paint and varnish, automobile, paper, sewing machine, typewriter, optical apparatus, and building industries. Precise data on the penetration of these industries is lacking.

More detailed information is available on German penetration of the Belgian insurance market. Before the war, insurance companies operating in Belgium, in the absence of state supervision, were among the least regulated in the world. The country was overrun with insurance offices -- in 1939 there were five hundred companies, of which there were about twice as many foreign as domestic firms. Germany had only a small share in these markets, although many German companies, particularly the Victoria, maintained large offices and staffs. German reinsurance interests in Belgium, however, had firmer roots. One of the foremost Belgian fire insurance companies reinsured with those in Munich. A heavy influx of German agencies followed immediately after the invasion. In 1942 there were forty German agencies in Belgium as compared with sixteen

in early 1940.

All local companies were subject to governmental regimentation under a decree of 19 June 1942 issued by the Belgian Secretary General of Economics. The later-established Insurance Association (Groupement des Assurances) was a counterpart of the German Reich Versicherungsgruppe; membership was a prerequisite for transacting insurance business.

In Belgium local companies were prevented from taking over valuable contracts. The Nordsters of Berlin obtained the greater part of the British and the Belgian business. The Victoria of Berlin and the Aachen and Munich Fire, which previously had offices but no business in Belgium, were rewarded by large contracts formerly held by the British, while the reinsurance business previously conducted by Lloyd's was handled by the Munich pool.

I. AGRICULTURE AND FOOD SUPPLY

1. Pre-War Agricultural Controls

Before the war Belgian agriculture was highly specialized, concentrating particularly on grains, sugar beets, potatoes, vegetables, and dairying. Seventy-five percent of the farmland was in holdings of 20 hectares (50 acres) or less and was worked by 98.7 percent of all farmers. Tenancy was one of the major agricultural problems; 52 percent of the farms were not owned by the farmers who worked them. Many industrial workers cultivated small holdings in their spare time.

The development of co-operatives had not progressed as far in Belgium as in many other European nations. The individualistic traditions of the Belgian farmer made him reluctant to participate in co-operative organizations, and the smallness of the holdings, which increased the need of such enterprises, also made their establishment difficult. The strongest co-operative, Belgische Boerenbond was organized by the Roman Catholic Church in Flemish areas in 1890. Many of the Flemish farmers, who are staunchly Catholic, were members of this organization but its activities did not extent to the Walloon districts, where the farmers were less influenced by the Church. In the years prior to the outbreak of the war, the Belgian farmers' co-operatives, however, developed into a powerful economic organization, in 1933 purchasing supplies, processing foodstuffs, and marketing products valued at more than five hundred million Belgian francs. 1/

The formulation of agricultural policy in pre-war Belgium was the responsibility of the Ministry of Agriculture, but at the outbreak of hostilities it was shared by the

1/ US Department of State, The Economy of Belgium, 2 March 1943.

newly created Ministry of Food. Some producers' associations were under its direction, notably the National Office for Milk (Office Nationale de Lait) and the National Office for Agricultural and Horticultural Markets (Office Nationale des Débounchés Agricoles et Horticoles), which exercised semi-official functions in their respective fields to carry out policies determined by the Ministry of Food.

2. Post-War Controls

German agricultural policy in Belgium aimed at increasing Belgium's food production. To achieve this end, 25 percent of Belgian pasturage was converted to the production of foodstuffs. Potato production was increased one-third, sugar production was doubled, and rye was used as food instead of feed. As a result of this conversion the production of milk, butter, and meat decreased by 25 percent. This policy aggravated Belgium's over-all food situation and imposed on the country a diet which, although providing a minimum caloric content, was poorly balanced.

To facilitate the execution of this program, existing Belgian agricultural controls had to be drastically revised. Although most of the reorganization was introduced by Belgian officials, some of whom were outspoken collaborationists, the entire program of reform clearly reflected the pattern of German agricultural exploitation. Direct German intervention in the agricultural life of the country was frequent and dated from the decree of 20 May 1940 stipulating that "in the interest of the occupied territories all agricultural products, food, raw materials, semi-fabricted products, and all other rare or scarce products shall be requisitioned." In theory this decree did not void ownership but merely restricted the right of disposal, making all these products subject to "official distribution." In fact, however, it meant that considerable amounts of food stocks were

exported to Germany.

a. The Ministry of Agriculture and Food Supply (Ministère de l'Agriculture et du Ravitaillement)

The Ministries of Agriculture and of Food, together with the other ministerial departments, came under the direction of their Secretaries General after the Belgian Cabinet had left the country. Emile de Winter, Secretary General of Agriculture at the time of the invasion, retained his post and committed himself entirely to the New Order. In August 1940, shortly after the occupation had been completed, the Ministries of Agriculture and Food were amalgamated into one Ministry (Ministère de l'Agriculture et du Ravitaillement), organized along the lines of the Reich Food Estate. In October 1943 it was reported to comprise the following subdivisions:

(1) Technical Services

(a) Livestock Breeding and Veterinary Inspection

(b) Agriculture and Horticulture

(c) Waterways and Forests

(d) Food Distribution and Ration Cards

(2) Economic Services

(a) General Services (statistics, documentation, trade policy, legal services)

(b) Special Services

i. Agriculture
ii. Horticulture
iii. Livestock Breeding
iv. Industry and Trade

(c) Technical and Control Services

i. Foodstuffs
ii. Seeds
iii. Breweries, Mills, and Malting Plants

(3) Administrative Services (in charge of organization of the Ministry)

(4) Financial Inspection

b. The National Corporation for Agriculture and Foodstuffs (Corporation Nationale de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation -- CNAA)

On 27 August 1940 the Secretary General of the Department of Agriculture published a decree creating the National Corporation for Agriculture and Foodstuffs to coordinate and control all economic operations between producers and consumers which concerned agricultural products, horticulture, fisheries, and such related products as fertilizers. Among the broad powers delegated to this corporation was the right to issue regulations concerning taxes, sales, grading, inspection, packing, and labeling of the above classes of products. The Corporation was further empowered to regulate production and manufacture, to suspend, merge, or eliminate producers and manufacturers, to stop the activities of enterprises considered superfluous, and to order, prohibit, limit, or expand the manufacture, production, or handling of certain products.

The formation of this institution undoubtedly involved the dissolution of existing farmers' organizations, in particular the Farmer's Co-operative which had been charged with the regulation of agricultural markets. The CNAA's aim was to increase the productivity of the soil and to ensure the most effective distribution of foodstuffs through strict crop control. The CNAA consisted of a number of general sections (milk, potatoes, cereals, etc.), divided into special groups and sub-groups. The Corporation created a police formation, The Rural Guard, to protect agricultural property. (See D 2, b (2), (b).)

One year after its creation the CNAA employed 5,000 permanent functionaries and 1,200 temporary functionaries. In Brussels alone seventeen buildings were occupied by the

offices of the CNAA. The organization had 202 local branches and 2,600 commercial secretariats.

Membership in the CNAA was obligatory for all persons connected with agriculture. Included in the association were 326,000 farmers, 160,000 food distributors, and 20,000 processors of agricultural products. The annual subscription to be paid to the CNAA by distributors, importers, processors, and manufacturers of agricultural or food products and of raw materials for agriculture was as follows:

	Bfr.
(1) Distributors	
(a) Retailers, intermediaries, and hawkers	
i. Firms employing five persons or less	100
ii. Firms employing more than five persons	200
(b) Wholesalers and importers	500
(2) Preparers, processors, and manufacturers	
(a) Firms employing five persons or less	250
(b) Firms employing more than five person.	500

The chief of the CNAA was appointed by, and was subject to the recall of, the Secretary General of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food. He was assisted by an advisory council nominated by him, but appointed by the Minister. Thus, the authority of the Belgian Ministry over the CNAA and its subdivisions was undisputed.

The organization of the CNAA was divided into functional and territorial subdivisions.

(1) Functional Subdivisions

(a) General Subgroups (Groupements Généraux). The CNAA created ten separate General Subgroups (Groupements Généra each responsible for a specific type of commodity. They correspond

to the various sections of the Food and Agriculture Division (Ravitaillement et Agriculture) of the German Wirtschafts-abteilung. The ten General Subgroups were as follows:

(1) Cereals and Feeds
(2) Milk, Butter, and Eggs
(3) Livestock, Meats, and Meat Products
(4) Fruit and Vegetables
(5) Agricultural Materials
(6) Sugar and Industrial Crops
(7) Potatoes
(8) Fish and other Sea Foods
(9) Wines, Beer, and Distilled Liquors
(10) Colonial Food Products

Each group had the same authority and powers in its field as those vested in the CNAA; thus the general subgroups operated as semi-autonomous divisions of the CNAA.

The president of each group, who was appointed by the Chief of the CNAA with the approval of the Secretary General of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food, was assisted by an advisory council consisting of representatives of manufacturers, processors, distributors, and consumers.

(b) Economic Subsections (Groupements Economiques) and Professional Groups (Groupements Professionnels). To deal with specific commodities within its fields, each general subgroup created economic subsections (groupements économiques), which in turn created subordinate professional groups (groupements professionnels) in which membership was obligatory for enterprises engaged in the same occupation. For example, the general subgroup for cereals and feeds created economic subsections for bread grains, non-bread grains, and animal feeds. The economic subsection for bread grains was organized into thirteen professional groups -- industrial millers, handicraft millers, bakers,

biscuit-makers, rusk-makers, special bread bakers, alimentary pastes manufacturers, dietary foods manufacturers, rye flour millers, threshers, grain dealers, importers of cereals, and grain brokers and agents.

The major administrative responsibility remained with the general subgroups; the economic subsections were primarily legislative and advisory, and the professional subgroups were entirely advisory. None of the three groups actually handled products, but they created agencies for controlling those who did. Each general subgroup, however, maintained a special food center (Centre d'Alimentation) for buying, storing, selling, and transporting commodities coming within its jurisdiction.

(c) The National Farmers' Association (Corporation Nationale des Paysans -- CNP). Since most farmers produced a variety of foodstuffs coming within the jurisdiction of a number of economic subsections, they were also members of the National Farmers' Association (Corporation Nationale des Paysans -- CNP), which represented the interests of the farmers in the CNAA.

The primary responsibility of the CNP was the organization and implementation of the production control program (Plan de Culture). (See I 2, 6.) For producers of grain crops a committee of farmers specified the crops to be sown, the yields expected, and the quotas to be delivered to the appropriate regional association. The marketing of livestock was controlled by a point system whereby the quota of each farmer was fixed in terms of points representing a specified number of kilograms of various types of livestock. Each farmer was required to deliver for slaughter enough stock to fulfill the point quota assigned him, which varied with the size of the farm and the quality of the pasture land. A system of registration for cattle was adopted, and the

quantity of meat for family consupption was strictly limited. Dairy farmers likewise were assessed quotas of milk, to be delivered to the creameries, varying with the stage of lactation of each milch cow in his hord. The direct sale of milk by the farmers was forbidden, and each farmer could retain for his own use only production in excess of the required deliveries. In addition, various special propaganda campaigns were conducted to increase production, such as that to promote the cultivation of colza. After 20 April 1942 each farmer having an area greater than five hectares under production was required to reserve 6 percent of his holdings for the cultivation of colza.

There was considerable opposition to these measures among the Belgian farmers, and their refusal to co-operate with the plan necessitated frequent farm-to-farm searches and the confiscation of livestock and produce.

(d) Arbitration Commissions (Commissions Arbitrales). Attached to the CNAA were arbitration commissions (Commissions Arbitrales), whose duty was to settle claims of members for indemnities, appeals from penalties or taxes, and jurisdictional and other disputes between groups.

(2) Territorial Subdivisions

The CNAA was divided into provincial offices, arrondissement offices, offices of the canton, and communal offices. The provincial and arrondissement offices transmitted and interpreted the regulations issued by headquarters and maintained relations with the police and the central and provincial governments. The offices of the canton were responsible for fixing schedules of deliveries of butter, meat, milk, and cereals. The local offices transmitted orders and regulations forwarded by the higher echelons to the farmers.

c. Food Production Control

In the pre-war period, the Belgian authorities considered

it unnecessary to promote the agricultural production of the country. The food situation changed drastically, however, after the opening of hostilities in 1939 and more specifically after the introduction of the British blockade. Thenceforth the local Belgian officials began to issue various laws forcing producers and importers to maintain certain stocks of food products, such as cheese, meat, margarine, sugar, and coffee. The country's food-production control policy inaugurated in September 1939, however, had not had time to obtain significant results before the Germans invaded Belgium in May 1940.

On 20 May 1940, when military operations were in full development, the German Military Commander ordered, "in the interest of the occupied territories," the requisitioning of all agricultural products, food products, raw materials, etc. This requisitioning, plus the obligation to feed the occupying military and civil forces, aggravated the already serious food situation. The local Belgian authorities consequently felt obliged to work out a system of food production. Decrees on food-production control emanated from the local authorities and not from the German military Administration.

On 15 June 1940 the control of agricultural production was introduced. 1/ At the same time various decrees were promulgated by which farmers were made responsible to the state for the 1940 harvest. These decrees fixed the percentage of production which the farmer was authorized to keep for his own use; the remaining quantities were to be delivered to designated markets and warehouses. Responsibility for the functioning of the system was given to the local communal administration and its burgomaster. In November 1940 the Secretary General of Agriculture announced that the area allotted to the cultivation of potatoes should be raised

1/ Moniteur Belge, 16 June 1940.

to 176,000 hectares; the areas allotted to the cultivation of wheat and rye were to be raised respectively from 180,000 hectares to 260,000 hectares and from 140,000 to 160,000 hectares. 1/ In 1942 the Ministry of Agriculture and Food worked out a plan by which the minimum quantities of wheat, rye, potatoes, and sugar beets to be delivered by each farmer were fixed. It was left to the farmer to find the ways and means to obtain these minimum requirements. According to an article in one of the official publications of the German Food Estate (Reichsnährstand), a decree was issued on 15 September 1941 by which Belgium was to be divided into eleven agricultural sections marked off primarily in accordance with soil conditions. The crop plan set up for the country was also said to be based on this regional division, with the result that in any stipulated district only such crops were grown as actually responded best to the local soil or best filled soil requirements. 2/

The full-scale control of agricultural production did not become effective, however, until the establishment of the National Farmers' Association and the implementation of its plan for production. (See I 3, a (3).)

d. Food Rationing

(1) The Rationing System

Shortly after the outbreak of the war, the Belgian Minister of Information announced that the Government had made plans for issuing ration cards to the population and that these cards were ready for distribution to municipal authorities. The rationing of foodstuffs, however, was not introduced until shortly after the invasion. Thence forth the rationing system remained in the hands of the local

1/ Inbel, No. 357, 6 August 1943, p. 6.
2/ Zeitungdienst des Reichsnahrstandes, No. 267, 17 November 1941.

Belgian authorities, as regulated in a decree of 27 October 1939, "Assuring the Food Supplies of the Population." 1/ The central authority was the Minister of Agriculture and Food, and the execution of the regulations was in the hands of Local Offices for Food Rationing and Distribution (Services Communaux de Ravitaillement et du Rationnement).

The Belgian system of rationing was similar to that used in France. Each individual was issued a "main card" valid for one year, with numbered coupons for each rationed food for rationing periods of thirty days. Each coupon of this card was exchanged for a sheet of "stamps" for separate purchases, the amount varying in accordance with the published ration for the current period. In addition to the rationing requirements, Belgian consumers were required to register at chosen retailers for special foodstuffs, such as sugar, margarine, cereal products, and potatoes.

Special red ration booklets were reported to have been issued to German occupation soldiers, and yellow booklets to travelers, but no definite information about their use is available.

(2) Supplementary Rations

There was no discrimination in the scale of rations to the population until 8 November 1940, when double rations of bread, meat, and margarine were given to heavy workers, and double rations of bread and meat and triple rations of margarine to miners. 2/ By a decree of 28 June 1942, a new classification was introduced, which came into force on 1 February 1942. 3/ Consumers were divided into five groups:

1/ Moniteur Belge, 29 October 1939.
2/ Moniteur Belge, 7,8 November 1940.
3/ Moniteur Belge, 31 January 1942, p. 613.

normal consumers, light workers, heavy workers, and miners. The second to fifth categories were entitled to supplementary coupons for bread, meat, and margarine for only those days actually worked.

The employers were required to make available for their workers supplies of these supplementary rations, furnishing as authority a certificate of the competent trade organization. According to a reliable report, out of a total population of 8¼ million, about 1 million workers were in receipt of extra rations in September 1942. In this figure were included 460,000 heavy and very heavy workers and 94,000 miners. The remainder were light workers.

Whole milk rations and supplementary bread and meat rations were provided for expectant, lying-in, and nursing mothers. These consumers were given further assistance through charitable organizations like the National Organization for Child Welfare (l'Oeuvre Nationale de l'Enfance). They could obtain meals at half-price at certain cheap restaurants and mothers' canteens. Ration coupons later had to be surrendered for these meals.

Special help was also given to undernourished city children. Under the auspices of an organization known as "Farmers' Aid to City Children" children were evacuated to the country. Those caring for these children obtained for each child in their charge supplementary daily rations.

The German residents in Belgium received supplementary rations. Special cards or coupons were issued to these consumers through the Nazi Party organization in Belgium. No information was available, however, in regard to the amount of their extra rations.

Special arrangements for the communal feeding of needy and undernourished persons were also carried out through the Winter Help organization. (See E 4.)

J. CURRENCY, BANKING, AND PUBLIC FINANCE

1. Currency

On the day of the invasion the German military authorities announced that the Reichsmark as well as the Belgian franc would be considered legal tender in the occupied territories. The value of the Reichmark was fixed at 1 franc - 0.10 RM. 1/ On 18 May 1940, an ordinance was issued introducing the Occupation Marks (Reichskreditkassenscheine), which were made legal tender together with the Belgian franc. 2/ On 17 June 1940 it was announced that, in addition to the Belgian franc, only the Reichskreditkassen notes would be legal tender in Belgium, the Reichsmark itself no longer being circulated in the occupied territory. 3/

As the occupation of Belgian territory progressed, five Kassen were established under the control of a Governing Board (Verwaltungsrat) in Berlin. They were created to provide currency for use in the payment of troops and the purchase of requisitioned goods and to smooth over German exploitation and the financial confusion resulting from military operations. On 22 July 1940, the purchasing power of Occupation Marks was increased by reducing the rate of the Belgian franc from RM.0.10 to RM.0.08. 4/ The Reichskreditkassen currency, although taking the form of RM, was issued only for circulation within the area being occupied; it was not legal tender in Germany and its importation into Germany was prohibited. Reichskreditkassen notes were issued in denominations of 50,20,5,2, and 1 RM and 50 Rpf. Coins were for 10 and 5 Rpfs. In July 1942, the Reichskreditkassenscheine were officially withdrawn. The Germans, as a result of their experience in the last war, realized the importance of withdrawing all tangible evidence of their looting.

1/ Vbl. Belg.; 10 May 1940, p. 15.
2/ Vbl. Belg., 17 June 1940, p. 19.
3/ Ibid.
4/ Vbl. Belg., 25 July 1940, p. 133.

The German occupying authorities, furthermore, forced the withdrawal of a great number of Belgian nickel coins and replaced them with zinc coins. During 1941 the Germans unofficially withdrew 50 c. and 1 fr. nickel coins. These were replaced by 1 fr. zinc coins with a diameter of 21.5 mm. and weighing 4.25 gr., issued in October 1941. Later, in June 1941, the issue of new zinc coins of 25,10, and 5c, was announced. The 5 fr. nickel coins were removed from circulation and ceased to be legal tender on 30 June 1942. A new 5 fr. zinc coin, 25 mm., in diameter and weighing 6 gr. with milled edges, was issued. It was further reported that zinc coins in 50c, 5c, and 10 fr. denominations were brought into circulation.

The following notes and coins were reported to be legal tender in November 1943:

a. Notes

10,000 fr.
1,000 fr.
500 fr.
100 fr.
50 fr.
20 fr.
5 fr.

b. Coins

10 fr. zinc
5 fr. zinc
1 fr. zinc
1 fr. nickel, unofficially withdrawn, but apparently still legal tender
50 c. nickel, unofficially withdrawn, but apparently still legal tender
50 c. zinc
25 c. 2 issues; older; copper-nickel; new,zinc
10 c. 2 issues; older, copper-nickel; new,zinc
5 c. 2 issues; older, copper-nickel; new,zinc
2 c. copper
1 c. copper

On 25 December 1941 the following exchange rates were fixed between the foreign currencies and the belga (equivalent to five Belgian francs):

100 Reichsmark	250 belgas
100 French francs	12.50 belgas
100 Swiss francs	144.755 belgas
100 lire	32.875 belgas
100 Swedish Crowns	148.80 belgas

1 dollar	4 belgas
1 pound sterling	10 belgas

2. Central Banking

The Belgian National Bank (Banque Nationale de Belgique) left Brussels during the first days of the invasion, taking with it its cash reserves and dies for printing notes. As many existing bank notes were being hoarded, an acute shortage of currency developed. The Reichskreditkassen in Belgium temporarily assumed some functions of a bank of issue. On 27 June 1940 the Military Commander issued an order setting up a Bank of Issue (Banque d' Emission) as from 6 July 1940 with a capitalization of 150 million francs, subscribed by a group of Belgian banks and commercial firms on the understanding that the Bank would be guaranteed by the Reichskreditkassen. In the decree establishing the Bank, it was stated that control over the appointment of all personnel of the Bank should belong to the Military Commander of Belgium. This Bank of issue, in the absence of the National Bank, proposed to create in Belgium the payment facilities necessary for the resumption of economic activities. The bank notes which the Bank of Issue planned to print were to be covered by the Bank's claims resulting from discount and loans operations, its claims on the National Bank of Belgium, and its foreign exchange holdings, including specifically its holdings of German currency and notes of the Reichskreditkassen, as well as its credits at the German clearing office (Reichsbahn) and the Reichskreditkassen.

Before any notes were issued, however, the National Bank returned to Brussels. A working arrangement was thereupon set up by which the National Bank issued notes and granted credits to public bodies, and the Bank of Issue assumed responsibility for clearing operations. The controlling personnel of the two banks was largely identical.

Prior to the war Belgium had four powerful commercial

banks, namely, the Societé Générale, the Banque de Bruxelles, the Crédit Général, and the Crédit Anversois. The Crédit Général and the Crédit Anversois were closed.

3. Exchange Control

The German military authorities, who had issued a provisional foreign-exchange order on 10 May 1940, replaced it on 17 June 1940 by a decree imposing severe exchange restrictions basically similar to those in effect in Germany. 1/ This decree and subsequent orders for its application gave the German authorities control of Belgian foreign assets held within the country, as well as gold and other valuables convertible into foreign exchange.

Under these rulings only banks which obtained special authorization from the German authorities were permitted to deal in foreign exchange and securities. All foreign-exchange accounts, as well as property in safety deposit boxes, were blocked. Safety deposit boxes could be opened only in the presence of a German official. Except with special permission -- rarely given -- no payments could be made to foreign countries or to foreigners in Belgium, no foreign claims or credits could be settled, and no currency of any kind could be imported or exported. Except small amounts for necessary travel, gold and precious metals could not be exported, and securities could not be exported, sold, or transferred to a foreigner. Title to real estate in foreign countries and foreign holdings in Belgium could not be transferred or sold, and credit could not be extended to foreigners. All residents of Belgium were required to declare their holdings of foreign exchange, foreign securities, Belgian securities expressed in foreign currency, claims in foreign currencies, claims in Belgian currency against foreigners, bills of exchange and checks in Belgian currency drawn on foreign countries, and gold and precious metals.

1/ Vbl. Belg., 17 June 1940, p. 51.

All residents of Belgium were required to offer for sale to the Banque d' Emission (Bank of Issue)before 31 August 1940, or within three days of acquisition, all bank-notes of the United States, Switzerland, Sweden, and France in their possession or custody, as well as gold coins and gold alloys, including semi-finished products. All other foreign means of payment, foreign securities, Belgian securities expressed in foreign currencies, participation in foreign companies not in the form of securities, claims in foreign currencies, and claims in Belgian currency drawn on foreign countries had to be offered for sale before 15 September 1940, or within three days of acquisition.

The same decree stated clearly that monetary exchange regulations decreed by the former Belgian government were no longer valid. Furthermore, it gave the military courts jurisdiction over all cases of violation of exchange regulations (C 1, a).

4. International Clearing

A new clearing system between the Reich and Belgium was introduced on 10 July 1940. 1/ All payments between the two countries had to be executed through the intermediary of clearing houses which, according to an announcement of 4 August 1940, were established with the Banque d' Emmission in Brussels and the Deutsche Verrechnungskasse at Berlin.

Belgian claims, resulting chiefly from involuntary exports far exceeded Belgian debts, and consequently balances were accumulating at the Verrechnungskasse for the credit of the Banque d'Emmission at Brussels.

Arrangements were also made by the Germans for the triangular clearing through Berlin of payments between Belgium and a number of other European countries. In May 1941 Belgian

1/ Vbl. Belg., 10 July 1940, p. 119.

clearing agreements came into effect with Germany and fourteen other countries. These provided for clearance of trade payments through accounts at the German and Belgian central banks and the German clearing office in Berlin. The dates upon which they became effective were: Germany, 10 July 1940; the Netherlands, 2 August 1940; Italy and Albania, 24 September 1940 Bohemia-Moravia, 1 October 1940; Switzerland, 7 October 1940; Sweden, 14 October 1940; Norway, 30 December 1940; Yugoslavia, 13 December 1940; Hungary, 6 January 1941; Denmark, 29 January 1941; the General Government, 29 January 1941; France, 4 February 1941; and Rumania, 8 March 1941. 1/ The accounts were kept in Reichsmarks and the various currencies were converted at the official rates of exchange in Berlin.

5. Control over Private Banking

The Banking Commission (Commission Bancaire), an autonomous agency created to supervise Belgian banking institutions, was retained by the German authorities. The Germans established in addition, however, a control of their own in Brussels with more extensive powers than those of the Banking Commission on 14 June 1940. 2/ All banking and savings institutions were directed to register with the German office, which was empowered not only to inspect the books and documents of banking institutions, but also to require that "important business" should not be concluded without its approval. 3/ The office had the power to prohibit any operation and also to order any bank "to deposit or transfer assets." Under the decree its German directors could also withdraw powers of attorney from the representative of a bank and designate other persons to replace him. The expenses were borne by the controlled institutions. This method of control of the German Office provided a basis for compelling Belgian

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1/ Foreign Commerce Weekly; 17 May 1941.
2/ Vbl. Belg., 17 June 1940, p. 47.
3/ R. Ardennè, German Exploitation of Belgium (Washington, D.C., 1942). p. 18.

banks to extend credits solely or largely to enterprises working for the German war economy.

On 20 June 1941, one year after the creation of the control agency, its power was expanded to include mortgage enterprises and other financial institutions, and could by special order of the German military administration be applied to all Sociétés à Portefuille.

There is no evidence of any connection between the German and the Belgian agencies of control. Although the German controlling office was empowered to dismiss supervisors appointed by the Commission Bancaire (Banking Commission), intervention never actually occurred. German banks established in Belgium since the occupation, which in principle should have complied with Belgian legislation, were exempted by the German control from submitting to Belgian supervision.

6. German Penetration of Banking

As far as is known no German bank acquired part ownership of any existing Belgian bank during the occupation. Since the Germans controlled the machinery for supervising Belgian banks, they found it more convenient to establish Belgian subsidiaries of the large German banks than to acquire existing Belgian banks. Various advantages were given to these branches of subsidiaries of the German banks, the chief being facilities for more rapid negotiations of clearing payments than were available to other Belgian banks. In May 1943 the following German banks had established subsidiary banks or branches in occupied Belgium.

German bank	Belgian connection	Capital participation	Nature of
Dresdner Bank	Continental Bank	10 mill fr.	Subsidiary
Bank der Deutschen Arbeit	Banque de l'Ouest	10 mill fr.	Subsidiary
Commerz Bank	Banque Hanséatique	10 mill fr.	Subsidiary
Deutsche Bank	Branch	10 mill fr.	Branch

7. Public Finance

a. The National Debt

The expenditures made by Belgium during the period from 10 May 1940 until July 1944 amounted to 222 billion francs. This sum was divided as follows (in millions of francs):

National Expenditures		
Budgetary expenditures		74,629
Treasury advances		10,749
		85,378
Occupation Charges		
Occupation expenses		65,501
Living accomodation expenses		5,623
Various indemnities		159
War booty		180
		71,463
Monetary Levies'		
Clearing-bank balance		60,823
Reichskreditkasse		4,525
		65,348
Total	221,189	

Belgium was required to pay the "cost of occupation," but it appears that the exact amount of this cost was never fixed. Generally, the figure of one billion francs was stated as representing the monthly cost. Actually, however, the amount was higher. The cost of occupation and the cost of billeting amounted to seventy-one billion francs by July 1944. In fifty-one months the German occupation cost Belgium the sum of 136 billion francs in direct financial expenditures, covering occupation charges and monetary levies, thus representing more than ten years of normal activity of the Belgian state.

b. Taxation

Under German occupation, Belgian taxes sharply increased. On 21 June 1941, the Moniteur Belge announced the introduction of two new taxes.

On 22 September 1941 the German authorities ordered that the limited liability companies (Sociétés Anonymes) should henceforth pay their taxes on the basis of their total benefits. In December 1942 the Germans issued a decree concerning the taxation of German firms working

chiefly for the German occupation authorities; the income and capital of these enterprises, if they had started work in Belgium after 10 May 1940, were to be subject to taxation on company incomes, according to the German fiscal regime, and to property taxation and taxation on capital according to Belgian law. 1/ On 10 June 1943 the Moniteur Belge published a decree stating that dividends paid by co-operative societies were in the future to be considered as ordinary dividends for fiscal purposes. Furthermore, the decree increased the rate of the professional tax for companies and associations whose net profit exceeded 200,000 frs. 2/

The German authorities also decreed that members of the German Army or SS living in Belgium and their families were exempted from all Belgian taxes on their income from services. 3/

c. Municipal Finances

The poor financial condition of the municipalities was aggravated to such an extent by the war that the occupying authorities were forced in June 1940 to grant them an emergency credit of RM. 860,000 (10 3/4 million francs). Later in the year the Crédit Communal, a government agency which provided credit for local authorities, resumed its activities. The financial difficulties of the communes led to certain administrative changes. The Germans suspended municipal councils, concentrating power in the hands of the burgomasters, while at the same time the Belgian administration appointed a Commissioner General for Provincial and Communal Finances, with broad powers of supervision and control of local budgets, one of whose chief functions was to check as far as possible an unhealthy growth of communal debts. The Commissioner had to maintain a proper balance between long and short term loans. Before long-term loan could be accepted, the Government's permission had to be obtained

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1/ 24 December 1942, p. 1125.
2/ 29 August 1942, p. 1003.
3/ Echo de la Bourse, 20 June 1943, quoting Moniteur Belge, 10 June 1943.

and the terms had to be government-guaranteed. This obliged the state to tighten its control of the expenditures of local authorities.

K. TRANSPORTATION AND PUBLIC UTILITIES

1. Railway Transportation

From the standpoint of capacity, capital invested, and merchandise carried, the railroad system was Belgium's most important medium of transportation. Its network was one of the densest in Europe. Almost the entire system belonged to the Societe Nationale des Chemins de Fer Belges (SNCFB), a privately owned but government-controlled company of which the Belgian Minister of Communications was ex-officio president. Several railways of secondary importance were formerly operated by small companies: Chemin de Fer du Nord-Belge, Chemin de Fer de Chimay, Chemin de Fer de Malines à Tervieren, and Chemin de Fer Bruxelles à Tervoeren. In August 1940, however, these lines were placed under the control of the SNCFB. Their incorporation into a unified system, however, had been planned before the German invasion. The interurban railways, which formed a network almost as long as the SNCFB, were owned by the Societe Nationale des Chemin de Fer Vicinaux (SNCFV).

From the day of invasion till the end of July 1940, control of the entire Belgian railroad system was exercised by the Belgian military authorities. On 22 June 1940, after conferences with the German military authorities, it was decided that SNCFB should resume the management of the railroads by mid-July, but by the end of July the German military authorities requisitioned the railroads, which had suffered great material damage during the Belgium campaign.

On 14 August 1940, the German Military Commander issued the following decree:

> The Wehrmachtsverkehrsdirektion at Brussels is authorized to take charge of the transportation of persons or merchandise on the lines of the normal network of the occupied Belgian territory, or to assign this right entirely or partially to the SNCFB, fixing the conditions and rates of transport, which are to be published in the Bulletin des Ordonnances du Commandant Militaire pour la Belgique et le Nord de la France. 1/

1/ Vbl. Belg., 14 August 1940.

Thus the Belgian railway system was entirely controlled by the Wehrmachtsverkehrsdirektion at Brussels. Orders concerning the organization and use of the railroad system were issued by this organization and not by the Military Commander. Military authorities, however, issued ordinances affecting its use, and enacted levies on its revenues amounting to 4.3 million francs for the period ending on 1 September 1941 and a monthly payment of 25 million francs beginning on that date. Subsequently the Belgian Government assumed the payment of this levy as the decrease in revenues created enormous deficits. 1/

Indirect German control was also achieved through ordinances affecting the manufacture of railroad equipment. Under German occupation, all Belgian locomotive manufacturers were consolidated into the Belgian Federation of Locomotive Builders.

2. Shipping

Before the invasion, the Belgian system of navigable inland waterways, a network of canals and rivers, was second in importance to the railways in the volume of freight carried. All the inland waterways, which, with the exception of about a hundred meters, were owned and controlled by the government, suffered tremendous damage in the 1940 campaign. Only two of the sixty-six bridges of the Albert Canal were left intact, and all of the bridges of the Meuse, Sambre, Dandre, and Scheldt were destroyed. By June 1941, however, practically all the waterways were again in use.

Faced with the difficulties and deficiencies of the railroad system, the Germans were forced to make much

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1/ In 1940 civilian transportation decreased to 38 percent of its 1939 total, and revenue from freight decreased to 40 percent of the 1939 total. The total revenue in the same period was 56 percent of the amount for 1939. From 1 August to 31 December 1940 a deficit of 389 million francs accumulated.

greater use of inland navigation than the Belgians in the pre-war period.

a. The Central Office of Inland Shipping (Office Central de la Navigation Intérieure — OCNI)

On 20 September 1940 the Secretary General for Public Works established the Central Office of Inland Shipping at Antwerp under the leadership of Harry Verhoeven. It attempted to establish an efficient control of water-borne traffic through the regulation of competition, the fixing of freight rates, and other measures. To improve the service it conducted experiments on the conversion of Belgian ships from Diesel engines to gas generators and announced that the conversion would be carried out and financed by state subsidies. 1/

b. The Belgian Association for Towing (Groupement Belge du Remorquage)

On 24 September 1941 a similar organization known as the Groupement Belge du Remorquage was established for the nationalization of inland towing. It fixed tariff rates and received all revenues, dividing them among its members.

c. The Office for the Exploitation of Waterways (Service d'Exploitation des Voies Navigables)

The Ministry of Public Works created, in addition, the Service d'Exploitation des Voies Navigables, which elaborated new inland shipping regulations, policed the waterways, supervised the control offices, and submitted plans for technical improvements to the Direction Générale des Voies Hydrauliques.

1/ News Digest, No. 1218, 21 August 1943, p.33, quoting DNB, 19 August 1943.

d. The Special Insurance Company for War Damage to Inland Navigation Vessels

The increased importance of the inland shipping fleet to the national economy led the Ministry of Public Works to create the Special Insurance Company for War Damage to Inland Navigation Vessels on 27 April 1943. 1/ The company was supervised by a board of seven members appointed by the Chief of the Ministry of Public Works under the presidency of M.F. Saverys of Ghent. All owners of inland navigation vessels registered with the freight office of the Central Office of Inland Shipping were required to insure with the new company. The Central Office of Inland Shipping deducts the insurance premium from the freight charges due to the owners.

3. Highway Transportation

The German military authorities ordered the discontinuance of all Belgian bus services which were not absolutely essential. As a result of this ordinance only twenty of the sixty-eight bus lines owned by the CFNB remained in operation.

As early as 6 June 1940 a German decree fixed the maximum number of cars, buses, and motorcycles allowed to circulate at 10 percent of the same vehicles registered in each community on 10 May 1940. On 19 November 1941 a German decree stated that all tires and tubes, new or old, even if they could no longer be used, had to be handed in except those already fixed on wheels of authorized cars or buses. 2/ According to the Bergwerkzeitung, there were 38,774 gas-operated automobiles in Belgium, of which 20,878 were trucks.

1/ News Digest, No. 1208, 10 August 1943, quoting Le Noveau Journal, 28 May 1943, referring to the Moniteur Belge, 27 April 1943.
2/ Vbl. Belg., 19 November 1943.

An Office for Road Transportation (Office de Transports par Route) was established to co-ordinate the trucking services, ensuring the complete utilization of all available trucks and the most efficient handling of freight.

4. Public Utilities

a. Electric, Gas, and Water Companies

All electric, gas, and water companies in Belgium were consolidated under the leadership of Fernand Courtoy, who was appointed by the Secretary General for Public Works. He was to marshal and distribute all raw materials and to co-ordinate the services for their more efficient management.

b. The Telephone System

Despite extensive war damage, the telephone system was in almost full operation soon after the occupation. Of the 433 telephone networks in operation before May 1940, 413 were in use in December 1941, and 550 of 564 central exchanges had been restored. At the same time it was announced that the number of public offices had been reduced from 763 to 651, and the number of subscribers from 310,774 (in 1940) to 230,453. 1/

c. Postal Service

Postal rates were increased on 1 August 1941. Postage on ordinary letters was increased to 1 franc and on postal cards to 0.50 francs. Postage on letters abroad was increased from 1.75 to 2.25 francs. Rates between occupied Belgium and Germany, however, were reduced .. Postage on postal cards was reduced from 1 franc to 75 centimes; letters under 20 grams from 1.75 to 1.50 francs; letters weighing

1/ Le Soir, May 1942, p.1.

between 20 and 250 grams were charged a flat rate of 3 francs as compared with the pre-war rate of one franc for each 20 grams. This reduction was established primarily for the benefit of German firms operating in Belgium.

L. LABOR

1. Labor Control Agencies

To extend the control of the New Order over Belgian labor and to use the large supply of skilled craftsmen 1/ more effectively in the German war effort, the occupying authorities reorganized existing labor control agencies and established new ones with the assistance of collaborationist officials.

a. The National Labor Office (Office National du Travail)

The first of the new agencies for the exploitation of Belgian labor to be established was the National Labor Office, which was first set up as the National Placement and Control Office (Office National du Placement et du Contrôle) by the Secretaries General on 15 June 1940. 2/ The central organization was headed by the General Director, F.J. Hendricks, who was assisted by a Chief of Labor Administration (Malisse), a Chief of the Organization of Deportation (Hofkens), and a Special Secretary of the General Service (Mercier). Branch offices were reported to exist in Brussels, Antwerp, Courtrai, Liége, Charleroi, Ghent, Alest, and Malines. To co-ordinate the work of the Belgian agency with the German labor service, there were German representatives of the Arbeitsverwaltung in the Local Labor Offices in Tournai, Termonde, Bruges, Mons, Hasselt, Ostend, Louvain, Renaix, Nivelles, Ypres, Verviers, Namur, Arlon, Huy, and Furnes.

The first task undertaken by the agency was the absorption into industry of the 500,000 unemployed on 1 June 1940. All persons receiving unemployment insurance or relief were forced to accept any available work. In this manner, during the first months of its existence, 440,000 workers were placed in industry

1/ In 1930 there were 3,750,000 persons gainfully employed. Of these 54.6 percent were employed in industry and transport, 16.9 percent in agriculture and forestry, and 14.5 in trade.
2/ Moniteur Belge, 1,3 July 1940.

by the National Labor Office — 264,000 in Belgium and the remainder in the Reich or in Axis-occupied territory.

For the more effective use of labor supply, the National Labor Office took steps on 10 April 1940 to determine the number of workers engaged in various occupations. For this purpose all firms employing more than five workers were to provide information concerning their employees. In this way the National Labor Office compiled or professed to be compiling a card index of 1,550,000 workers, containing information on every worker's civil status, special skills, educational qualifications, physical fitness, and other relevant information which would enable the Office to direct him to a new position if his transfer should be deemed necessary.

The German authorities made great use of the National Labor Office both for executing its policies and for gathering information. (See L 2, b.) For the closer co-ordination of the two agencies the office of the German Werbestellen, set up to organize the recruiting of labor for the Reich, were often in the same building as the National Labor Office.

b. The Delegate General for Labor (Delegue General a la Reglementation du Travail)

By a decree of 26 June 1941 the post of Delegate General for Labor was set up as the representative for the Ministry of Labor, and L. Wouters, a Flemish Nationalist lawyer, was appointed to the post. 1/ As executive officer for the Minister of Labor, the Commissioners for Prices and Wages and the Secretaries General of Economic Affairs, Agriculture, and Finance, he was empowered to make decisions on all questions affecting wages and working conditions of labor. To assist him he appointed a deputy delegate and Committees of Social Expert.

1/ Moniteur Belge, 26 June 1941.

c. Committees of Social Experts (Comités d'Experts Sociaux)

In May 1942 the first twenty-two Committees of Social Experts were appointed by the Delegate General from nominations submitted by employers' associations and labor unions; later a committee was set up for each industry.

The Delegate General for Labor presided over the Committees of Social Experts. The Committees were authorized to deal with all questions of wages and working conditions in their respective industries throughout the entire country. Their first and most important task was the reclassification of workers according to their technical and professional capacities as a basis for a better system of wage rates. Decisions made by the Committees were binding upon all concerned. Only the Commissioner for Prices and Wages could override them.

d. The Commissioner for Prices and Wages (Commissaire aux Prix et aux Salaires)

On the first day of the invasion, a German decree prohibited all increases in prices or wages and stipulated that changes could be applied for only to the Oberfeldkommandanturen or the offices acting in their name. In May 1941 minimum wage rates were established for industrial workers, agricultural workers, and salaried workers. This measure was incorporated in the Belgian decrees of 3 July 1940 and 20 August 1940 when a Commissioner for Prices and Wages was appointed to whom extensive powers were given. He worked in close co-operation with the Central Offices for Commodities (Office Centraux de Marchandises) (see H 1, b) and the trade associations. (See H 1, d.) The dispositions regarding price control were completed by the creation of administrative offices, e.g., Control Service (Service de Contrôle).

e. The Union of Manual and Intellectual Workers (Union des Travailleurs Manuels et Intellectuels -- UTMI)

Before the war, Belgian labor was well organized into three important federations of labor unions: the Socialist Confédération Générale du Travail de Belgique with 570,000 members, the Roman Catholic Confédération des Syndicats Chrétiens de Belgique with 350,000 members, and the Liberal Centrale Générale des Syndicates Libéraux de Belgique with 59,543 members. The first step toward their suppression was taken by the collaborationist president of the Socialist Party (see N 1, b), Henri de Man, who dissolved his party in June 1940 and began negotiations with trade-union leaders for the formation of a single German-dominated organization.

On 22 November 1940 all the old trade unions were required to join the newly created Union of Manual and Intellectual Workers. It was originally controlled by a committee of eight members, but early in 1941 it was placed under a single leader, F.V. Grauls, who was succeeded in April 1941 by Edgar Delvo.

The UTMI had separate Flemish and Walloon sections. As far as is known, the UTMI comprised fifteen professional groups; miners, metal, construction, textile, food, leather, clothing, books, paper, transport, diamond workers, employees, civil servants, public services, and educators. The UTMI created an employment service, a youth service, and a social mutual-aid service; it also delegated one of its members for the Belgian workers in Germany. In May 1942, the creation of a section called Joy and Labor (Joie et Travail) was announced, with Walloon and Flemish subdivisions headed respectively by Jacques Roseret and Edgar Wauters.

It is impossible to say how many workers joined the UTMI, but in March 1942 the president of the body claimed that it had won the adherence of a quarter of the members of the old Socialist and Christian unions. In December of that year,

however, workers who had belonged to the old unions but had not yet joined the UTMI were promised that they would retain all the benefits which they had acquired as members of the old unions if they joined the UTMI before 1 April. These promises would seem to indicate that a large number of workers had failed to join the UTMI.

On 22 August 1943 the formation of a new department of the UTMI was announced, known as the Professional Department to investigate conditions of work and draw up new labor regulations. It was to lay foundations for the labor policy of the New Order, which, according to the official announcement, was to be based "on the principle of justice." It was the task of the department to make suggestions to the Delegate General with regard to wages, rules, and regulations of work, etc., and to keep him informed as to the conditions in the various industries of the country. Experts trained by the UTMI studied these questions. The Professional Department had at its disposal a staff of advisors who were specialists in certain definite branches of the work and who held technical discussions with the Delegate General. The Technical Committee of Experts worked in close collaboration with the workers themselves to enable them to place suggestions for necessary improvements before the competent official services.

The Professional Department dealt particularly with the following problems; labor conditions, regulation of wages, social conditions, health of workers and their safety at work, establishment of Labor Communities in each firm, distribution of food, and granting of extra rations, etc. 1/

2. German Labor Policy

a. Voluntary Labor Service

The reorganization of Belgian economy according to the Nazi pattern was extremely well fitted to help the Germans in

1/ News Digest, No. 1221, 25 August 1943, p. 27, quoting Radio Brussels, 22 August 1943.

their drive for manpower recruitment. Each newly established or reorganized German or Belgian economic control office fulfilled a specific role in the drive for labor.

The Germans made every effort to secure a resumption of work in those industries which were vital in their war economy. On 8 December 1940 the Moniteur Belge published a decree concerning voluntary labor enlistment. 1/ Two official organizations were established under the General Commissariat for Reconstruction: (1) the Voluntary Labor Service in Flanders with its headquarters at Antwerp; (2) the Voluntary Labor Service in Wallonia with its headquarters at Brussels. Both services were for reconstruction work in Belgium and were subordinated to the Ministry of the Interior. In addition, the Nazis sought to induce Belgian workers to go to the Reich or to occupied territory. As early as June 1940 Belgians were invited to take jobs in Germany with promises of good food and high wages.

Belgian workers in Germany would, it was said, enjoy the same conditions as the German workers themselves. The Belgians who went abroad were also assured that they would be able to transfer a large part of their wages to their families at home. By August 1940 it was reported that thirty thousand Belgians had left for the Reich; one year later this number had reached two hundred thousand. Besides the workers going to Germany, others went to Northern France and to Poland. Technically, every Belgian who went abroad to work did so of his own free will. In practice, however, considerable pressure was often applied. Unemployed persons frequently found themselves deprived of relief if they refused to "volunteer" for work in Germany. In Germany Belgian workers were subjected to intense National Socialist propaganda. Special papers in Dutch and in French were published for their benefit.

Voluntary labor service for Belgian youth was also

1/ Moniteur Belge, 8 December 1940.

established shortly after the occupation. In line with the general policy, separate sections for Flemings and Walloons were established.

b. Labor Conscription

The second phase of the German labor policy in Belgium started in March 1942 with the issuance of a decree for the "rational use of labor," in reality the beginning of compulsory labor conscription in Belgium. 1/ This decree provided that Belgians could be compelled to work on jobs assigned to them in Belgium or Northern France, though not outside the area. Moreover, this order introduced stabilization of employment. The National Labor Office, with its card index system, was very useful to the Germans in the execution of this decree. (See 4 a.) On 8 May 1942 there followed an order stating that all totally or partially unemployed individuals and their families could receive relief only if the Labor Office certified that no employment could be found for them either in Belgium or Germany. 2/

In June Belgian industrialists were notified by the German authorities that all men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five were liable for work in Germany and that from ten to fifteen percent would be deported.

The third phase in the German labor policy in Belgium was initiated in October 1942. On 6 October the German authorities issued a decree introducing compulsory labor conscription for work in the Reich for men between eighteen and fifty years of age and for unmarried women between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-five. It was stated, however, that volunteers would still be welcome and that conscription would be used only when quotas

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1/ Vbl. Belg.; 7 March 1942.
2/ Vbl. Belg., 8 May 1943.

had to be filled. Under this decree the recruiting of labor for Germany remained the function of the German authorities; the Belgian Labor Office continued, with increased powers, to control labor in Belgium. Labor registration books were introduced, and all hiring and dismissal of workers was thereafter made subject to approval by the Labor Office. At the same time a minimum of a forty-eight hour working week and an eight-hour day was made compulsory in order to free more hands for essential work.

This intensification of the German drive for labor was accompanied by propaganda from the various quisling organizations such as VNV, DEVLAG, Rex, and AGRA. (See N 2.) In January 1943 Gauleiter Sauckel visited Belgium in order to make plain Germany's determination to obtain all the labor she needed. On 5 March 1943 a German decree was promulgated stating that the food-control offices must withhold all ration cards from workers reported to them either by the German Military Administration or by the Labor Office as having broken their employment contracts, who refused to comply with the forced labor decrees, or who used "slow-down" tactics in factories or shipyards.1/ Finally, on 5 June 1943, SS . General Reeder, head of the German Military Administration, declared that "if the population fulfilled their obligations with regard to work in Germany, twenty-thousand Belgian prisoners of war would be given the status of workers. 2/ It seems, however, that the Germans preferred to obtain "volunteers" whenever possible.

Opposition to the German labor deportation decrees was extremely violent. The Oberfeldkommandant of Ghent issued

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1/ Vbl. Belg., 9 March 1943.
2/ FFC: Daily Report, 5 June 1943, quoting Radio Brussels, 5 June 1943.

a decree on 1 March 1943 providing that those who refused to obey the labor regulations would be subject to seizure of their property or to imprisonment of their relatives.

On 9 February 1943, the German Military Administrator informed the Secretary General of Education that all first-year university students, both male and female, were required to register at the Labor Office of their university town before 20 March 1943 for six months' labor service in accordance with a decree of 6 March 1942 (see F 2,d). Students were not admitted to a university without having completed at least one year of labor service. The decree of 6 March 1942, to which this ordinance referred, called only for compulsory labor within the occupied territory of Belgium and Northern France. This German decree was vigorously opposed by students and professors alike. As a result of this opposition it was announced that, through the intervention of the quisling Secretary General of the Interior, a certain number of students would be allowed to discharge their obligations by serving for five months in either the Flemish or Walloon Labor Service.

Opposition to the conscription of women led to the announcement that, as a result of the representations of the Ministry of Labor and of the Labor Office, the only women to be conscripted would be those who had been previously engaged in domestic work or who had been employed by hotels or restaurants.

From press reports it appears that the German Werbestelle summoned the conscripted workers. Permission to be excused from service could be granted only by the Oberfeldkommandantur. The Oberfeldkommandanturen and the Feldkommandanturen informed the Labor Offices of their needs in the form of employment offers. As soon as these

employment offers were received by the Labor Offices, they determined the percentage of workers to be taken from various non-productive industries. According to the Vade-mecum, which every deportee received, the contract for work or employment was to be regarded as in effect for an indefinite time, unless the contrary was clearly stated. The signing of the contract by the worker needed the preliminary approval of the Labor Office. Transportation to the assigned place of employment was provided, and at the end of the term of service, transportation to the Belgian border was also provided. The Belgian worker, before crossing the German frontier, had to have a passport from the Belgian authorities and a German visa from the German consul in his place of residence.

The principal 1/ German centers or important factories to which Belgian workers were sent were:

Luftwaffenbaustab - Norwegen - (Bahnstsation Hamburg)
Siemens Schuckert Werke A.G. - Kabelwerke Siemensstadt
Eisenbutten Hermann Goring, at Watenstadt (Immendorf)
Dynamit A.G. Verm.A. Nobel & Co., at Wolfratshausen
and Trasdorf "
Dornier Werke G.m.b.H., at Neuaubing bei Munchen
Flugmotoren Hass Hauler, at Baierbrunn
Mittel Leichtmeltallwerke, at Heragerode
Rheinmetall Borsig A.G., Abteilung Unterluss
Friedrich Krupp A.G., at Rheinbausen
Mitteldeutsche Stahlwerke A.G., at Riesa
Dohler Sachsische Gusstahl Werke A.G., Berlin-Willensruh
Bergmann Elektrizitats - Werke Dollen A.G., at Freitall
2 Huttenstrasee "
E. I. B. I. A. G.m.b.H. fur Chemische Produkte, at Pourlits bei Walrode (for women)
Rudolf Reuttenbach Leichtmetallgiessereien, in Solingen
Hermann Holler, Eisenbeten, at Wilhelmshaven
Firma Hellsmann und Dykenhoff, in Berlin-Friedrichshaven
Munitionsfabrik der Dynamit A.G., at Stahel bei Furth
"Weser" Flugzeughaus G.m.b.H., at Delmenhorst
Junkers Stammwerke, in Dessau
Junkers Flugzeug und Motorenwerke, in Aschersleben-Desau-Magdeburg
Didier Werke A.G. Werke Mainbar
Stahl, Hammer und Walswerk Gebr. Arms., in Remscheid
Geckel und Niebur, at Mariensiel uber Wilhelmshaven
Chemische Werke Rombach G.m.b.H., at Oberhausen
Union Rheinische Braunkohlenkraftstoff A.G., Wesseling
Arbeitsgemeinschaft "Eisen und Metall", in Koln, Hamburg, Besenbinderstrasse
Deutsche Reichsbahn Kassel - Frankfurt, Merseburg, Kiln,

1/ The first five listed received the largest number of workers.

Kalk, Aalen at Seesen und Holzminder, Dortmund
Theodor Klatte, at Huchting
I.G. Farbenindustrie, at Neuss und Ludwigshafen, Auschurtz
Manusfeld G.m.b.H. Maschinenfabrik, in Leipzig
Deutsche Edelstahlwerker A.G., in Hannover - Linden

It seems that the worker who refused to sign a contract was paid at the rate of unskilled labor. During the waiting time, i.e., the time between the worker's arrival in the Reich and the actual date of work, the deportee was paid between RM. 1.20 and 1.58 per day. The hourly pay for a Belgian's work in Germany varied between RM. 0.54 and RM. o.86. In certain cases additional pay was given for overtime. Married workers received an extra separation bonus of RM. 1 per day. The deported worker could transfer to his family in Belgium a part of his salary. According to a note given to the worker at his departure he was to be listed as eligible for these transfers at the Deutsche Bank, Berlin Abteilung Ausland. Transfers could not exceed RM. 160 for married workers or RM. 120 for bachelors.

The branches of the Deutsche Bank with which the amounts to be transferred were deposited sent these funds to their head office in Berlin. This office remitted it to the Deutsche Verrechnungskasse (DVK) in Berlin, after deducting a commission which included the expenses of the transfer. The Banque d'Emission in Brussels was thereupon advised by the Deutsche Verrechnungakasse that such funds were in its possession. The Banque d'Emission, on the basis of this notification, then transferred an equivalent amount to the Kredietbank voor Handel en Nijverheid at Brussels, which in turn remitted the money to the addressees by postal order without further charges. In December 1942, 67,000 transfers were made, averaging 1,500 Belgian francs.

A Belgian worker in Germany was subject to German social insurance laws and German taxes. His income earned in Germany was, however, exempt from all Belgian taxes.

In July 1942 the German authorities decreed that all Eastern workers who had been put to work in Belgium and Northern France were subject to special law. Belgian and French statutes concerning labor and protection of labor were not applicable to them, except where it was stated explicitly. Employers of Eastern workers in Belgium and Northern France had to pay an extra tax (Ostarbeiterabgabe).1/

Belgian intelligence services in London reported that in the summer of 1943 there were 542,176 Belgian deportees in the Reich or other occupied areas, of whom 486,800 were men and 55,376 women. Of this number 447,738 were working in Germany, 92,243 in France, and 2,195 in the Netherlands. Although it is not known in which industries the workers were employed after being deported, the number of workers deported from each Belgian industry as of 30 June 1943 is shown in the following table:

Industry	Men	Women	Total
Agriculture	30,480	1,943	32,423
Mining	13,521	21	13,542
Quarries, ceramics, glass	11,690	467	12,157
Construction	92,287	39	92,326
Day laborers and unskilled workers	37,364	12	37,376
Lumber	23,585	138	23,723
Metal	132,561	7,019	139,580
Iron	7,095	121	7,216
Chemicals	2,600	859	3,459
Paper and printing	802	125	927
Textiles	24,100	10,811	54,911
Leather	4,198	284	4,482
Food	13,475	1,201	14,676
Engineers, technicians, clerks	694	6	700
Transportation	18,636	221	18,857
Hotels and restaurants	3,345	1,496	4,841
Miscellaneous	134,661	32,299	165,960

1/ Vbl. Belg., 24 July 1942, p. 958.

M. ANTI-JEWISH LEGISLATION

1. The Jews in Pre-War Belgium

In 1830, when Belgium achieved independence, there were only three thousand Jews in the entire country. Two waves of immigration after the First World War, the first coming from Russia and the second from Poland, formed the basis of the Jewish community of recent years. Since no data recording religious affiliations were kept in Belgium, only an estimate of the number of people of Jewish faith can be given.

At the time of the invasion, about 95,000 Jews were assumed to be in Belgium, representing 1.2 percent of the entire population. Included among them were some 25,000 Jewish refugees from Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia. The Jews were distributed mainly in Antwerp (45,000), Brussels (30,000), Charleroi and La Louvière (7,000), Liége (5,000), and Ghent (400).

Jews found their place in Belgian life, and, until the German invasion, Belgium continued to hold to the pledge of equal rights which she had made to her people in 1831. With the establishment of an independent Belgium in 1830, Jews were granted the right to have their own communal organization, with a central consistory and chief rabbinate in Brussels. Membership was voluntary. State subventions were allotted to the Jewish community as to others. Jews who were native or naturalized Belgians enjoyed full citizenship privileges. There was no legal discrimination against Jews in pre-war Belgium, and the majority of its population remained immune to anti-Semitic propaganda.

2. Initial Anti-Jewish Legislation

On 20 August 1940, the German military authorities published a decree stating that all questions concerning race,

Judaism, or Free Masonry should be considered political questions. This constituted the first official reference to the racial problem in Belgium. At the beginning of the invasion all the Jewish leaders had left the country, with the exception of Rabbi Rottenberg and Dr. Salomon Ullmann, head military chaplains of the Belgian Jews. At the request of the Secretaries General and especially of that of Ernst de Brunswick, at that time Secretary General of Justice, the members of the Great Consistory of Belgian Jews (Grand Consistoire Israélite de Belgique) elected Dr. Ullmann as Chief Rabbi of Belgium (Grand Rabbi de Belgique). Dr. Ullmann accepted this appointment only after discussion with Cardinal van Roey, Carton de Wiart, General Kayaerts, and other leading Belgians.

Dr. Ullmann was instructed by the Gestapo to set up a Committee for co-ordination of all Jewish affairs, composed of religious and lay members of the Jewish community and members of the German Jewish Refugee Committee in Brussels. Through the Committee for Co-ordination, the Gestapo hoped to control the actions of all Jews living in Belgium.

The German occupying authorities, aware of the slow progress made by the Committee, on 25 November 1941 issued a decree, inspired by Felix Meyer, creating the Association of Jews in Belgium (Association des Juifs en Belgique, AJB).1/ Before that time, anti-Jewish measures had only been enforced at various intervals. The president of AJB was Rabbi Solomon Ullmann. Local committees were created at Brussels, Antwerp, Liége, and Charleroi.

On 23 October 1940 the first anti-Jewish decree was enacted -- a prohibition of the ritual slaughter of animals.

1/ Vbl. Belg., 2 December 1941, p. 798.

It was followed five days later by two decrees establishing a series of restrictions against the Jews.1/ The anti-Jewish law (Judenverordnung) defined a Jew as one descended from three "racial-Jewish" grandparents irrespective of their faith, or two Jewish grandparents professing the Jewish faith. The decree introduced a separate register for the Jewish population, required that all firms under Jewish control be registered, and forbade them to dispose of their holdings. Jews were excluded from public positions, the educational system, the press, and the radio.

The decree entitled "Economic Measures against the Jews," the third anti-Jewish law, stipulated that all Jewish firms (concerns having one or more Jewish directors) were to be registered, and the stationery, signs, and entrances of all such firms were to bear the words "Jewish business" in German, Flemish, and French. Jews were forbidden to dispose of their property without the consent of the German Military Commander.2/

These regulations were particularly severe in Antwerp, where anti-Semitic Flemish groups, including the VNV (see N 1, f) and DEVLAG (see N 2, b), exhibited anti-Jewish films. On the Monday of Easter 1941, these anti-Semitic elements made an attack on the Jewish section of Antwerp and set fire to two of the synagogues. The members of the German Propaganda Staffel III B were immediately on hand to film the entire scene. The Belgian police and the burgomaster remained passive and took no action. A curfew was established prohibiting Jews from being out after eight o'clock at night.

3. Intensification of the Anti-Jewish Policy

A Society similar to the Vereinigung der Juden in Deutschland, the Reichsverband der Juden was created in

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1/ Vbl. Belg., 5 November 1940, p. 279.
2/ Vbl. Belg., 10 June 1941, p. 617; and Vbl. Belg., 2 October 1942, p. 1034.

November 1941 to co-ordinate all Jewish organizations, distribute relief, circulate information, and assist Jewish emigration.1/ All Jews in Belgium were forced to enroll in the new organization, which was placed under the control of the Ministry of the Interior and Public Health. The Moniteur Belge was obliged to publish a notice instructing all Jews to register with the AJB -- the sole occasion on which this official Belgian publication printed an enemy ordinance in full.

Meanwhile a new series of anti-Jewish decrees followed, interfering in all phases of the social, cultural, political, and economic life of the Belgians. (See F 2, a.) A Brüsseller Treuhandelsgesellschaft (SPRL) was established for the liquidation of confiscated Jewish property.

At the end of March 1942 there were 45,000 Jews in Belgium; of which from two to three thousand were Belgians, and from two to three thousand were Dutch. Of the remainder, 60 percent were Polish, and the rest German, Austrian, and Rumanian. Most of them lived in Brussels (22,000) and in Antwerp (17,000).

The Yellow Star of David was introduced into Belgium by a decree of 27 May 1942.2/ Representations to Dr. Leiber, Chief of the German Police for Belgium and Northern France, against the order were rejected. The distribution of the Star was in most cases made by the German authorities, after the communal officials as well as the AJB had refused to distribute them.

Compulsory enlistment of Jews for labor in the Organsation Todt (see O 1, d) commenced at the end of May 1942. Jews were also deported for work on fortifications in

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1/ Vbl. Belg., 5 November 1940, p. 279.
2/ Vbl. Belg., 1 June 1942, p. 944.

Northern France (Lille, Boulogne, Calais). Obersturmführer Bürger, special representative of Himmler, was charged with the execution of the decrees on the compulsory labor and deportation of Jews. The deportation orders were signed by Ehlers, Chief of the Gestapo in Belgium and Northern France.

The AJB was obliged to distribute orders for enlistment, but the panic aroused in the Jewish population was so great that a deputation consisting of Van den Berg, Hellendael, and Liebmann was sent to Queen Elisabeth, who obtained a promise from Hitler that Belgian Jews would not be deported but put to work in Belgium. This was opposed by the Gestapo, Belgium being the only country where intervention had helped the Jews. On 24 September 1942 a meeting of the AJB was called at which SS Obersturmführer Asche informed the members of the AJB that as a result of the passive resistance of the organization all Jews were to be evacuated from Belgium. To put a stop to all intervention on their behalf, S. Ullmann, S. Van den Berg, A. Blum, E. Hellendael, and M. Benedictus were sent to the concentration camp of Breendonck, where they were interned from 29 September 1942 to 3 October 1942. After his release, Ullmann retired from the presidency of the AJB and was replaced by Marcel Blum. At the same time Asche was replaced by Hauptsturmführer Hodernann, from whom it was learnt that from 1 January 1943 all Belgians and foreign Jews were to be treated alike and to be evacuated from Belgium. By 10 April 1943, the Brüsseler Zeitung boasted that eight Belgian provinces were Judenfrei (free of Jews).1/

1/ Institute of Jewish Affairs of the American Jewish Congress, Hitler's Ten-Year War on the Jews (New York, September 1943).

N. POLITICAL PARTIES

1. Pre-Invasion Political Parties

In the last pre-war elections three political groups, the Catholics, the Socialists, and the Liberals, obtained 85 percent of the total seats in the Chamber of Representatives. Of these the Catholics and Socialists in the years before the war polled an almost equal number of votes, and in the elections of 1939 together secured 75 percent of the total seats in the Chamber.

Although party controversies in Belgium were normally restrained, the language problem was the source of many heated debates. With the exception of the Flemish National Socialist Party (VNV), each political group was represented both in the Flemish and in the Walloon parts of the country and contained a pro-Flemish and pro-Walloon faction. When it came to the Flemish question, however, the unity of the political parties was gone, and there was no "obedience to the party." The Flemish National Socialist group, however, based its program entirely on a Flemish-fascist platform, and there was, therefore, no common cause between the VNV and the pro-Flemish factions of the other parties.

a. The Catholic Party

The Catholic party was the strongest in the country and in most elections polled a slightly higher number of votes than the Socialists.

In 1936 a reorganization of the Catholic Party resulted in the formation of a Catholic Bloc with an almost autonomous Flemish Catholic branch and an equally autonomous branch in the French-speaking districts of the country. The Christian Democrats, representing the Catholic Labor Federations, had independent local organizations but also belonged to the Flemish or Walloon branch of the Bloc. In domestic policy

the Bloc advocated conservative social reforms, adequate national defense, and state subvention for the Catholic schools; in foreign affairs the Bloc approved the policy of freedom from alliances advocated by the King in 1936.

The Christian Democrats and the factions of the Bloc representing the interests of the Catholic Labor Federations supported on numerous occasions the progressive policy of the Socialist Party. The Flemish Catholic representatives took an active part in the language discussions, and prominent members of the Party defended the language reforms in the educational and social program.

During the depression, the Catholics lost sixteen of their seats in the Chamber of Representatives, but they regained them in the 1939 elections.

b. Socialist Party

The Socialist Party, commonly referred to as the Belgian Labor Party, usually obtained almost as many votes as the Catholic Party. The industrial Liége and Hainaut districts, and the densely populated provinces of Brabant and Antwerp, were the principal centers of its activities. The program of the Socialist Party was anti-clerical and reformist. It represented the interests of the Socialist labor unions and advocated socialization of the essential means of production. Although they followed a progressive social-democratic policy, the Belgian Socialists had no revolutionary program. They were, therefore, strongly opposed to the Communists.

In foreign policy the Socialists favored the program of the Second International and, until a few years before the war, asked for limitation of armaments and a policy of collective security. Under pressure of international events the Socialists later supported Belgium's neutrality policy and

voted for an adequate national defense.

The younger Socialist elements, under the leadership of Henri de Man, were somewhat opposed to the policy of class struggle advocated by the founders of the Socialist Party. Emile Vandervelde was the strongest representative of the basic ideals of the founders of the party in Belgium.

During the depression period the results of the elections showed a decline in Socialist votes. After heated debates between the younger and the older elements, the party attempted to regain its prestige by sponsoring a program of economic reform known as Plan du Travail (Labor Plan), also known under the name of its author, Henri de Man, as the Plan de Man.

c. The Liberal Party

The Liberal Party represented the upper middle classes and the large business interests. Its influence in Belgium's political life was greater than is indicated by its numerical strength. Although the Liberal Party also had a Flemish faction, it can be said that it was largely anti-Flemish and anti-Clerical.

In domestic policy the Liberals advocated a strong national defense, and, in foreign policy, Franco-Belgian co-operation against Germany.

d. The Communist Party

The Communist Party, formed by revolutionary elements expelled from the Socialist Party, never gained a strong foothold in pre-war Belgium. The mining and industrial districts of Hainaut, Liége, and Brabant were the centers of Communist activities. During the depression, the Communists tripled their number of seats in the Chamber of Representatives.

e. The Rex Party

The fascist Rex Party presented its candidates for the

first time during the 1936 elections. Although there was also a small group in Flanders known as Rex Vlaanderen, the chief support of the Rex Party came from middle-class circles in the Walloon districts. The initial success of the Rex group in the 1936 elections was largely at the expense of the Catholic Party. Léon Degrelle, leader of the Rexists, attacked practically every one who had been in power but never clearly defined the Rex Party's program on foreign or domestic policy.

f. The Flemish National Socialist Party (VNV)

The Flemish National Socialist Party started as a Frontist party formed by discontented Flemish soldiers of World War I. The VNV demanded autonomy for the Flemish part of the country and language reforms in the Government and the Army. The more democratic elements left the Party when a pro-German fascist tendency became apparent. The VNV never won great support among the Flemish people, even though it doubled its number of seats in the Chamber of Representatives during the depression.

g. Verdinaso (Verbond der Dietsch National Solidaristen)

A small fraction of the Frontist Party organized itself after World War I into an open fascist group, known as the Verdinaso, to advocate the reunion of the former Burgundian states in a single state. The party, which was led by the barrister, Joris Van Severen, was based on authoritarian principles. The party was commonly known under the name of "Dinaso." It never participated in the Belgian elections but urged the people to submit blank votes. The Verdinaso could count on only a very small number of followers, mainly from among the younger intellectuals.

2. Political Parties under German Occupation

In the first days of the German invasion, the leaders

of the three extremist Flemish parties were taken prisoners by the Belgian authorities. Immediately after the capitulation of the Belgian Army, however, the German officials released them, but the leader of Verdinaso, J. Van Severen, had died in a prison camp. When the German military authorities ordered the suspension of all the traditional political parties, they permitted the VNV, Verdinaso, and Rex to resume their normal activities. All three parties immediately adopted an outspoken fascist policy and supported the Germans in their war effort.

a. The United VNV (Eenheidsbeweging VNV)

On 10 May 1941, VNV, Verdinaso, and Rex Vlaanderen were amalgamated into a single party called the United VNV, which was organized on the Nazi model. The party leader (leider) was Dr. Hendrik Elias, an outstanding advocate of National Socialism in Belgium with a long record as a separatist agitator. From 1941 to 1943 he was burgomaster of Ghent, which he attempted to make the National Socialist headquarters of the new Flanders. He assumed leadership of the party in 1942 on the death of Staf de Clerq, the first VNV leader.

The leader was assisted by a Leadership Council (Raad van Leiding), the leading member of which was the General Secretary of the party, who was directly responsible to the party leader for administering the movement's finances and propaganda. In October 1942, the Leadership Council was composed of the General Secretary, E. Van den Berghe (Burgomaster of Audenaerde), Jan Timmermans (former VNV deputy, alderman, and later burgomaster of Greater Antwerp), Louridan (former VNV deputy), Professor Frans Daels (who later resigned from the party), Professor R. Speelers, and Odiel Daem (former Rexist and alderman of Greater Antwerp).

The regional organization of the party was divided into six regions (Gouwen) each headed by a regional leader (gouwleider). Four of the regions corresponded to the Flemish provinces (West Flanders, East Flanders, Antwerp, and Limburg); the fifth included the Flemish part of Brabant; and the sixth the Flemings in Wallonia and Northern France. The regional organizations were divided into arrondissementen, headed by an Arrondissements Leider, who was assisted by separate political, economic, cultural, and agricultural advisers. The arrondissementen were subdivided into sections (Gewesten) made up of one commune, each headed by a section leader (gewest leider). In June 1942, there were 860 sections in Flanders and 40 in Wallonia. In cities of over 10,000 inhabitants, most sections were subdivided into cells (wijken) and subcells (blokken). In Northern France, the VNV had a separate sub-organization, the Flemish League of France (Vlaamsch Verbond Van Frankrijk), with headquarters in Lille.

Although no official statistics are available, various reports have revealed a steady decline in the strength of the United VNV Party. It obtained 185,000 votes in the 1939 elections, but it was reliably estimated in September 1942 that the movement did not have more than 100,000 members. Further disintegration took place after 1943 as a result of the turn in military events, despite vigorous efforts to promote the formation of VNV cells in all public and semi-public bodies. In French Flanders, where 250,000 French residents and 50,000 Belgian immigrants speak Flemish, the VNV was reported to have recruited only 300 members.

VNV's endeavors to increase its influence in Belgium's administrative framework were more successful than those of the other Fascist organizations. The Germans permitted VNV

officials to play an important, although not predominant,role in the central and local administrations. Of the ten Secretaries General who took over the functions of former Cabinet Ministers only two, Victor Leemans, Secretary General for Economic Affairs, and Gerard Romsee, Secretary General of the Interior, belonged to the VNV, but these two occupied the most influential posts in the country. Romsee was the only collaborator to whom the Germans entrusted broad political powers. With authority over the gendarmerie, public health, food, price control, and the reform of local government, Romsee was a conspiciously faithful tool of the Germans. Other prominent VNV members in the central administration included J.F. Hendricks, who as head of the Labor Office was a zealous recruiting agent for forced labor in Germany; Borgignon, former VNV deputy from the Brussels district, who was appointed Commissioner for Larger Urban Units to promote quisling local governments (see B 3, b); Dr. Cyriel Verschaeve, President of the Nazi-sponsored Flemish Cultural Council, a gifted Flemish poet and one of the few Belgian Catholic priests to collaborate with the Germans; and Dr. August Borms, whose pro-German record dated from World War I. In the local administration of the country, the Governors of West Flanders, East Flanders, and Limburg, as well as many Romsee-appointed burgomasters and other local officials in Flanders and Brabant, were VNV members. It was not until May 1944, however, that a VNV member was appointed burgomaster of Greater Antwerp.

During the German occupation, the VNV followed two divergent propaganda lines. In order to obtain German favor, the VNV leaders proclaimed Hitler as the Führer of all Germanic people and declared that a National Socialist Europe under German hegemony was essential for the future of

Flanders. At the same time, in order to attract Flemish support, VNV officials emphasized that a German victory would not mean the absorption of Flanders by the Reich but would rather be the safest guarantee of Flemish autonomy. The VNV failed to achieve either of these aims; it succeeded neither in obtaining a privileged position from the Germans, such as that enjoyed by the NSB in the Netherlands, nor in winning over the Flemish masses.1/

b. DEVLAG (Duitsch-Vlaamsche Arbeidsgemeenschap)

After the united VNV incorporated the smaller Flemish nationalist groups within its own framework, the Duitsch Vlaamsche Arbeidgemeenschap was the only remaining Fascist group in Flanders. It was founded in 1935 by a group of Flemish and German students as a cultural organization. Under German occupation, however, it developed into an independent political party active both in Flanders and in Germany. Leadership of the movement was in the hands of Jef van de Wiele, who was closely associated with a number of Flemish intellectuals, including Professor Van Roosbroeck, German-appointed professor at Ghent University and an alderman of Greater Antwerp. In September 1943, van de Wiele claimed that his organization had 51,991 members, a staff of 3,224 men, and 530 cells. DEVLAG's principal activity in Flanders consisted in sponsoring meetings, motion pictures, plays, lectures, concerts, exhibitions, and schools,all of which were intended to convert the Flemings to National Socialism. (See F 2, a.) In 1941 and 1942 DEVLAG arranged for the visit of twenty thousand Flemish children to Germany and carried on its own recruiting campaign for both the Waffen SS and the NSKK (National Socialist Transport Corps). (See O 1, d.) DEVLAG's activities

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1/ For a discussion of the para-military organizations and youth groups created by VNV, see O 2, c, and P 2, a.

in Germany included the organization of Flemish-German culture weeks, during which quisling Flemish authors such as Felix Timmermans, Cyriel Verschaeve, and de Pillicijn were invited to give lectures. In this way, the party attempted to impress the Germans with the Germanic character of Flemish culture. In the Reich, under the supervision of SS Obergruppenführer Berger, DEVLAG maintained branch offices in Berlin, Düsseldorf, Cologne, Essen, Münster, Hamburg, Lübeck, Lüneburg, Bremen, Stuttgart, and the Sudetenland.

During the German occupation, DEVLAG steadily increased in power and expanded its political activities. By doing so it became the rival of the VNV and attempted to surpass it in loyalty to the Germans by advocating the annexation of Flanders to the Reich, making all its officials swear allegiance to Hitler, and urging the absorption of the VNV Youth movement by the Hitler Youth. (See P 2, a.)

In March 1944, when the German occupying authorities suddenly seemed to shift their support from the Flemish to the Walloon movements, DEVLAG and VNV resolved their differences and made an appeal for unity to all Flemings, apparently to prevent the leader of the Walloon quislings, Leon Degrelle, from becoming head of all Belgian Nazi parties. Other sources reported, however, that this sudden desire for unity between the two Flemish Fascist parties was ordered by the German authorities.

c. The Rex Party

The German authorities made little use of Degrelle in the first period of occupation, and none of his party officials received a post of importance in the central administration of the country. Degrelle started an intense campaign to recruit volunteers for the Eastern Front, and

enlisted as a private in the Germany Army. (See O 2, a.) After February 1944, Degrelle's influence increased, and he was apparently chosen as the Belgian quisling-in-chief.

The organization of the party comprised a political bureau, an economic department, and a department dealing with labor questions and cultural matters. The head of the political bureau was Jose Streel, who was also the political director of the party newspaper Le Pays Réel and correspondent of the largest Belgian New Order paper, Le Soir.

While the VNV maintained an organization for the Flemings in Wallonia, the Rexists, by an agreement of 10 May 1941, surrendered all rights to carry on political activities in Flanders. The Rexist Party was limited to Wallonia, where it was divided into twenty-eight districts (cercles), each headed by a district leader (chef de cercle).

Like the VNV, the Rexist Party attempted in its propaganda to combine praise of Nazi Germany with appeals to local patriotism. On the one hand, Degrelle called the Walloons "French-speaking Germanics"; on the other, he declared his intention "to protect the unity of the Belgian people under King Leopold from the menace of Bolshevism." The total number of Rexists is not known, but most estimates indicate that there were about five thousand members, a figure which obviously does not include sympathizers. The Rexist sphere of influence was undoubtedly much smaller than that of VNV, and the Rexists were much less successful in holding their membership together. Discipline was said to be low, and members were frequently expelled or reprimanded for insubordination.

Unlike the VNV, the Rexists had little share in the national administration. Their only post was the unimportant Sports Commissariat (see P 3), held by Pierre Daye, former Rexist deputy. The governors of two provinces, Liége and Hainaut, were Rexists, and a small number were made burgomasters and aldermen.

d. AGRA (Amis du Grand Reich Allemand)

The AGRA group, Rex's rival, played a role analogous to that of DEVLAG. It was founded on 15 March 1941 as a "society of political culture." In its propaganda AGRA made no reference to Belgian patriotism, but appealed rather to Walloon nationalism within the Germanic framework.

In October 1942, in an attempt to emphasize the socialist side of its propaganda, AGRA changed its name to Mouvement Socialiste Wallon. The headquarters of the organization, controlled by Georges Scaillet, were at Charleroi. The AGRA made special efforts to gain recruits for Germany and established recruiting branches at Liége, Mons, Charleroi, Namur, and La Louvière.

The Rex Party repeatedly tried to establish a single-party system in the Walloon provinces, but AGRA rejected the idea. It declared:

> The various existing "New Order" movements must continue their propaganda, and when the time comes we shall see if the harvest is uniform and good. In virtue of National Socialist principles, we shall all recognize our chief and our leader, and we shall give our entire confidence and devotion to the man chosen for this office by the greatest European revolutionary Socialist, Adolf Hitler.

e. The Auslandsorganisation der NSDAP in Belgium

After the foundation of the Auslandsabteilung der Reichleitung der NSDAP at Hamburg on 1 May 1931 for the care of all members of the Party living abroad, Horst Buchmann, an employee of an "international" firm in Brussels, was appointed Landesvertrauensmann for Belgium.

On 8 August 1932, the newspaper Le Soir stated that the Germans in Brussels and Antwerp had founded local branches of the Nazi Party, were holding meetings, and printed their own newspaper, NS-Information. A Party member named Ehlers was editor of the Deutsch-Belgische Rundschau and leader of

the German vocational groups in Belgium. In September 1932 Horst Buckmann founded Ortsgruppen in Brussels and Antwerp. When the Germans in Belgium, who were under constant attack by the press, became aware that local branches of the Party were established in Belgium, they founded many local branches.

After the Nazis came into power in Germany and the Auslandsabteilung became the Auslandsorganisation der NSDAP, Gauleiter Ernest Bohle organized Kreise-Belgium I at Brussels under the leadership of Ebenfeld, and Belgium II at Antwerp under the leadership of Hollwig. On 1 January 1937, the Belgian Kreise were dissolved and all local branches in Belgium were united within a Landesgruppe, the leader of which was Adolf Schulze.

At the time of the invasion, the Party had local branches in Brussels, Antwerp, Liége, and Eupen, and units in Malines, Ghent, St. Nicolas, Ostende, Ypern, Waterschel, Eisden, and Raeren. With the exception of the associations of high school students in Brussels and Antwerp, all existing German sport, singing, and social societies were transformed along Nazi lines. Later, when their functions were taken over by the Party, they were dissolved. The Party organized a number of activities to interest German nationals living in Belgium -- exhibitions, lectures, moving picture shows, trips, and vacation camps. The Party also organized special trains and buses to Aix-la-Chapelle and Cologne, to enable the members to participate in the "yes votes," and gave active support to the extension of German schools in Brussels and Antwerp and to the creation of a new German school in Eisden.

The political leaders in Belgium were assisted by a Schulungsleiter from the Reich. Leaders were sent to the Reich to attend courses organized by the AO, and each year they participated in the Reichstagungen für Auslandsdeutsche.

O. MILITARY AND PARA-MILITARY FORMATIONS

The Germans spared no efforts to put Belgians into uniform by recruiting them either directly or through the intermediary of the Belgian quisling parties. Their aim was twofold: to increase German manpower in its "fight against Bolshevism" in the East; and to spread the gospel of National Socialism in Belgium.

In view of the former aim, Belgians were urged to fight with the German armed forces. Some Belgians were admitted to German units and became members, either of the German Waffen-SS and Navy or of German auxiliary service troops (NSKK and OT). Other Belgians, although fighting with the Germans, in German uniform, formed their own non-German units, Legion Wallonie and SS-Legioen Vlaanderen. These Legions seem to have been formed for propagandistic rather than for military reasons. Later they were incorporated into the Waffen-SS. The total number of Flemings serving with the German armed forces was estimated in September 1943 to be ten thousand; the number of Walloons, three thousand.

Dissemination of the Nazi ideas in Belgium was also an aim of para-military formations. Belgian workers in Germany were urged to join the Allgemeine SS, and the Belgian quisling parties were authorized to form their own political armies in Belgium; the VNV created the Dietsche Militie; and Rex, the Formation de Combat. The main purpose of these quisling para-military formations was, however, to serve as a pool from which the Germans could draw manpower for their own military formations.

1. Belgians in German Units

a. The Waffen-SS

Shortly after the German victories in the North and West, the ranks of the Waffen-SS were opened to volunteers

of "Germanic race." On 25 May 1940, Hitler signed an order creating the SS-Standarte Westland to be recruited among the Dutch and Flemings. Before the end of the year the two Standarten Westland and Nordland (composed of Norwegians and Danes) were constituted as combat regiments and were combined with SS-Standarte Germania as of 1 December 1940 to form the Wiking Division of the Waffen-SS. Later, Walloons were considered sufficiently "Germanic" to serve in this division.1/ Additional "Germanic" volunteers were placed in the Langemarck Regiment of SS-Division Das Reich.

According to an announcement of the Waffen-SS Ersatz Kommando for Flanders and Wallonia,2/ recruiting offices for the Waffen-SS were opened in all important towns of Belgium and Northern France, and an intensive recruitment drive was launched among the Belgian labor deportees in Germany. The conditions as to racial, political, and ideological eligibility were the same as for the Germans. Flemings who were considered officer material attended the regular SS-Junkerschule at Bad Tolz, Upper Bavaria.3/ By a decree of the Military Commander for Belgium and Northern France, Belgians serving in the Waffen-SS were freed from Belgian taxes.4/

b. The Allgemeine SS

In addition to the Waffen-SS, the Allgemeine SS (for civilians with part-time duties) was opened to Flemish men. Foreign workers of "Germanic" extraction working in Germany were given the opportunity to join the Germanic SS-Sturmbanner. Physical and ideological training as SS men was given to them in their spare time so that they might "complete the National Socialist revolution in their respective

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1/ Frankfurter Zeitung, 24 August 1943.
2/ L'Avenir, 3 December 1943.
3/ De Vlag (organ of DEVLAG), 25 December 1942.
4/ Kölnische Zeitung, 11 September 1942.

fatherlands under the organizing might of the Reich."1/

c. The German Navy

In July 1943 the Germans established offices for recruiting navy personnel (Meldestelle für Freiwillige für die Deutsche Kriegsmarine) in Belgium, and launched appeals for voluntary service with the German E- and U-Boat service.2/ In November the campaign was intensified and recruiting offices for the Navy were opened in Antwerp and Brussels. On 15 November 1943 the Flemish broadcaster announced the departure from Antwerp of "another contingent of Flemish volunteers" to join the German Navy, but had to admit that "most of them were members of the VNV and wore the uniform of the Flemish Watch Brigade."

Service in the Kriegsmarine was open to men from seventeen to forty-five years of age with good-conduct certificates and testimonials. Service was for the duration of the war or a minimum of two years, including a twelve-week training period. In addition to regulation pay, married men received rent, food, and fuel allowances, and special grants for children. Radio Brussels offered as an additional inducement the opportunity of training for a permanent career, and promised that training, rank, and diplomas would be recognized in the French, Belgian, and Dutch merchant marines.

d. The National Socialist Motor Corps (National Sozialistische Kraftfahrkorps -- NSKK) and the Organisation Todt (OT)

The Germans also attempted to recruit Belgian volunteers for the auxiliary services of the German Army: The National Socialist Motor Corps, consisting mainly of drivers, and the

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1/ De Vlaamsche Post, Berlin, 18 October 1942.
2/ News Digest, No. 1204, 5 August 1943, p. 23, quoting DNB, Volk en Staat, 9 July 1943.

Organization Todt. Six hundred members of AGRA, the Walloon quisling group, were reported as driving motor vehicles in the East.1/ (See N 2, d.)

In April 1943 the Germans announced the creation of a Flemish National-Socialist motorized corps within the NSKK; its members were to be recruited among the DEVLAG, the Flemish collaborationist organization. (See N 2, b.)

A special recruiting center for the Todt Organization was inaugurated in Brussels on 17 June 1942. Special tribute was paid on this occasion to the Flemish members of this organization, who built bridges on the Russian front.2/

2. Belgian Units

a. The Walloon Legion (Legion Wallonie)

Late in 1941 Leon Degrelle, leader of the Rex party, began to recruit volunteers for a Walloon Legion among the Rexists. (See N 2, c.) Degrelle himself enlisted as a private in this Legion Wallonie; he was later promoted to corporal, lieutenant, and finally to Major in the German Army, and was decorated with the Iron Cross. Lucien Lippert, a former instructor in a Belgian military training school, was made commander of the Legion with the rank of Hauptmann.3/

The members of the Legion wore the German Army uniform with the Belgian colors and the words Legion Wallonie on the left arm. They also wore their party emblem, the cross of Burgundy.

In August 1941 the Wallon Legion reached battalion strength,4/ and departed from Brussels for the Eastern Front.5/ It was incorporated in a Gebirgsdivision. After a short training period in Germany, the unit fought on the

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1/ British Overseas Press Summaries, No. 63.
2/ Le Nouveau Journal, Brussels, 18 June 1942.
3/ Lippert was killed on the Eastern Front in February 1944.
4/ Frankfurter Zeitung, 24 August 1943.
5/ Le Pays Réel, 16 July 1942.

Eastern Front with only a brief interruption, until the beginning of 1943. On 10 March 1942 another contingent of 440 Walloon volunteers for the Eastern Front left Brussels.

Degrelle made the following statement on the losses suffered in Russia by the Legionnaires:

> In August 1941, 850 legionnaires left Belgium. Their number was reduced to 325 by the spring of 1942. Reinforced by younger men, they set out again, 750 in number, for the Don, the Kuban, and the Caucasus. At the end there were only 187 survivors from a total of 1,275 legionnaires who had gone to Russia.1/

In the spring of 1943 the legion was expanded to form a brigade.2/ Shortly afterwards the unit was transferred to the Waffen-SS as the SS-Freiwilligen Brigade Wallonien. The older members who had served in the Gebirsdivision retained the Edelweiss insignia on the Waffen-SS uniforms. The Rexists consider this step as a German recognition of the Walloons as "French speaking Germans." Matthys, the acting leader of the Rexists, thought it wise, however, to stress the Walloon rather than the German character of the new formation. He pointed out that the members of the Brigade would continue to be led by their own Walloon officers, who would issue orders in their own language and that the Cross of Burgundy would be retained as the formation emblem. A part of the Legionnaires were then assigned to the Division Wiking.

b. The Flemish Legion (SS Legioen Vlaanderen)

Soon after the invasion of Russia, VNV started to recruit its members for a Flemish legion: the SS-Legioen Vlaanderen. The Flemish Legionnaires wore the uniform of the German SS, but the German eagle was replaced by the sun

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1/ News from Belgium, 6 November 1943.
2/ Ibid., No. 1145, 28 June 1943, quoting Radio Bremen, 26 May 1943.

wheel. Unlike the Standarte Westland, the SS-Legioen Vlaanderen did not belong to the Waffen-SS.

It was reported that the unit lost 370 officers and men on a single day at the Eastern Front, and that this number constituted a large percentage of its total strength.

Later, the Flemish Legion seemed to have been dissolved like the Walloon Legion, and its members apparently joined the Waffen-SS.

c. Belgian Quisling Party Formations

The Dietsche Militie (DM) was the military arm of the VNV. It consisted of four independent formations, each of them having its own sphere of activity:

(1) The Dietsche Militie-Zwarte Brigade (DM-ZB) was a para-military organization of the German Storm Troop type. It was placed under the orders of Raymond Tollenaere, who joined the Flemish Legion and was killed on the Eastern Front. Joris van Steenlandt succeeded him in the command of the ZB in October 1942. VNV members were obliged to register with the Black Brigade (Zwarte Brigade).1/ (See D 3, c.)

(2) The Dietsche Militia Hulpbrigade (DM-HB) was an auxiliary corps which performed police duties at VNV party demonstrations.

(3) The Dietsche Militie Wachtbrigade (DM-WB) was factory guard. (See D 3, c.)

(4) The Dietsche Militie Motorbrigade (DM-MB) was formed in the spring of 1943. All members of this motor unit volunteered for the NSKK in the East, where they formed a specifically Flemish unit known as the NSKK Regiment. (See O 1, d.)

1/ Volk en Staat, 20 March 1942.

On 12 November 1943 Elias, leader of VNV, ordered the reorganization of the VNV militia; the DM-ZB, DM-HB, and DM-MB were merged into one corps known as Dietsche Militie; the WB was separated from the DM and placed under its own commanders and the Wehrmacht; and members of the VNV serving in Wehrmacht formations were obliged to become members of the DM, being regarded for their period of service with the Wehrmacht as on indefinite leave.1/

The Formation de Combat de Rex (FC) was the corresponding Rexist para-military organization. (See D 3, f.) The majority of its members enlisted in the Legion Wallonie or the NSKK.

1/ News Digest, No. 1317, 15 December 1943, quoting Volk en Staat, 14 November 1943.

P. YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS

1. Pre-War Youth Organizations

Belgian pre-war youth groups were organized for the most part along political party lines. The most important groups were the Christian Young Workers (La Jeunesse Ouvriére Chrétienne -- JOC), commonly known as the Jocists, the Young Socialist Guards (Les Jeunes Gardes Socialistes), and the Young Liberal Guards (Les Jeunes Guardes Libérales). Groups of lesser importance were the Catholic and non-sectarian Boy Scouts and the youth organizations of the Communist Party, the VNV, and the Rexists.

a. The Catholic Organizations

The largest and most powerful youth groups in Belgium were the Catholic organizations, most of which were affiliated with one of the four large confederations:

(1) The Catholic Movement of the Belgian Youth (Association Catholique de La Jeunesse Belge -- ACJB)

(2) The Catholic Movement for Young Belgian Women (Association Catholique de la Jeunesse Belge Féminine -- ACJBF)

(3) The Youth Movement for Catholic Action (Jeugd Verbond voor Katholieke Actie -- JVKA)

(4) The Youth Movement for Catholic Action (girls) (Vrouwelijk Jeugd Verbond voor Katholieke Actie -- VJVKA)

Each of these four groups consisted of several specialized federations, of which the Christian Young Workers was the most important. Farmers, students, and employees each had separate youth groups.

The JOC had separate groups for French and Flemish-speaking boys and girls, which were closely united by a strong feeling of solidarity. Canon Joseph Cardijn, the founder of the movement and spiritual leader of all four

organizations, stated that the primary aim of the JOC was to uphold Catholic ethics and to regulate the church behavior of its members. Although strict independence from political factors was always stressed, the JOC used its influence to train future members and leaders of the Catholic Party.

b. Political Organizations

Since its foundation around 1905, the Young Socialist Guards (Les Jeunes Gardes Socialistes -- JGS) had been an integral part of the Belgian Socialist Party. Its constituents were regarded as junior members of the Party itself and participated in political meetings and campaigns. The JGS was subsidized by the Socialist Party and was organized on a national level with local headquarters in the various municipalities. Its primary aim was to train the Belgian youth for active participation in the Socialist Party.

The Young Liberal Guards (Les Jeunes Gardes Libérales -- JGL) was an integral part of the Belgian Liberal Party and, like the two other youth groups, was designed for the training of future party members.

The VNV, Rex, and Community youth organizations were organized on a basis similar to the other groups and, like the other groups, aimed primarily at training future party members. Prior to the war, however, the youth groups of the extremist parties were very small.

2. Youth Organizations after the Invasion

The Germans dissolved all youth organizations except Catholic groups devoted exclusively to religious matters.1/ The Scouts were also permitted to function, but all military training was forbidden.2/ Frequent attacks by the collaborationist press indicated that the Catholic organizations

1/ Message, September 1943, p. 52.
2/ Review of the Foreign Press, 29 June 1942, p. 477.

and the Scouts were not influenced by the Nazi ideology.

The political groups which were suppressed went underground, and a new underground group, the National Youth Movement (Rassemblement National de la Jeunesse -- RNJ), was created.1/

a. The National Socialist Youth Movement (National Socialistische Jeugd Verbond -- NSJV)

The National Socialist Youth Movement was the youth movement sponsored by the VNV. It was patterned after the Hitler Youth and worked in close co-operation with it. The Force, Life, Joy (Kracht, Leven, Vreugde -- KLV) department of the organization aimed at having Flemish children spend six months in Germany to strengthen contacts with the German youth. There were separate groups for boys (DEV) and girls (DMS). At the age of eighteen boys joined the DM.

b. The Young Legionnaires (Jeunesse Légionnaire -- JL)

Originally the Rexist Youth (Jeunesse Rexiste) was the main Rexist Youth Organization, but in April 1943 all Walloon youth formations of the New Order were amalgamated into a new organization, the Jeunesse Légionnaire (JL). The leadership of the JL was given to Mexxetta, formerly Feldwebel in the Walloon Legion.1/ The JL aimed at including all young men and girls between the ages of eight and eighteen. They received special advantages such as free uniforms, special food, and the use of sports fields.2/

In November 1943 the JL organized a girls' section (JF) parallel to that for the boys.3/ The two sections

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1/ News Digest, No. 1116, 24 April 1943, quoting Le Pays Réel, 13 April 1943.
2/ News Digest, No. 1142, 25 May 1943, quoting Le Nouveau Journal, 12 April 1943.
3/ News Digest, No. 1300, 25 November 1943 and Gazette de Charleroi, 6 January 1944, quoting Le Pays Réel.

were, however, quite independent. The JF was divided into three sections: Jouvencelles, Compagnes, and Compagnes de Travail. At the same time, the JL opened a training school for its youth leaders at Marcinelle. Candidates had to be between sixteen and twenty-six and were required to join the JL if they were not already members. Those who passed the strict physical examination were sent to HJ Camps for one month, after which they became either Chef de Serment (salary Bfr. 2,000 a month) or Chef de Flamme (salary Bfr. 2,400 a month).

3. German Attempts to Nazify Belgian Youth

One of the favorite German propaganda devices was to invite Walloon and Flemish children to vacation in Germany. Such "vacations" were for indoctrination and for relieving the agricultural manpower shortage in Germany.1/

Girls of the NSJV were asked to work on the land in Germany. Those who volunteered pledged themselves to remain at work for nine months.2/ Other Flemish girls volunteered for two years' service in the Frauenhilfsdienst or served as nurses in the German Red Cross on the Eastern Front.3/

Flemish youth leaders were trained in Germany, in the Reich Youth Leader College of the High Command of the Hitler Youth in Potsdam, or in a camp in Gnesen for colonization in occupied Poland.4/

These measures, however, were not effective, and in October 1943 the Reich Youth Leader issued a decree

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1/ Bulletin of International News, 30 May 1942, p. 472.
2/ Review of the Foreign Press, 23 March 1942, quoting Brüsseler Zeitung, 15 February 1942.
3/ British Overseas Press Summaries, quoting Vooruit, 11 September 1942.
4. Ibid., 55, p. 5, quoting Het Laatste Nieuws, 13 September 1942.

that Flemish boys and girls could be admitted as "guest members" by the Hitler Youth Training and that their schooling would be carried out in accordance with directives issued by the Reich Youth Leader. Shortly afterwards, all pupils of the Antwerp elementary schools were incorporated into the Hitler Youth.1/ Finally it was decreed that Flemish youth would belong to the Hitler Youth, not as a branch organization, but as an integral part of the movement under the name Hitlerjugend Flandern.2/

4. German Attempts to Organize Belgian Sport

Before the war Belgians had no nation-wide sports organization. To facilitate supervision of all Belgian sports, on 15 June 1942 the Germans created a sport commission (Commissariat Général a l'Education Physique et aux Sports), consisting of five members to be appointed by the Ministry of Interior and Public Health.3/ The former Rexist Deputy, Pierre Daye, was the appointed head of this organization.4/ (See N 2, d.)

A later Belgian decree ordered the Sports Commissariat to form new sports unions with separate branches for Flanders and Wallonia for every form of athletics. As from 1 November 1943 only public sports events organized by these unions were permitted.5/ The various independent Belgian sport groups, however, protested vigorously against this decree. Assembled in Brussels by the National Committee for Physical Training and the Belgian Olympic Committee, they pledged themselves to refrain from any contact with the Sports Commissariat and refused to take part in any future

1/ FCC, Daily Report, 21 October 1943, quoting Belgian Home Service.
2/ FCC, Daily Report, 15 November 1943, quoting the Kleine Stadtanzeiger.
3/ Moniteur Belge, 28 June 1942, p. 4116.
4/ News Digest, No. 1216, 19 August 1943.
5/ News Digest, No. 1256, 5 October 1943.

sports competitions.1/ This protest proved to be effective. Romsee, Secretary General of the Interior, addressed a circular letter to all local officials informing them that until further notice sport restrictions would not be applied.2/

On the other hand, the Germans themselves enacted a decree forbidding the practicing of military sports within the framework of any organization without the written permission of the local Feldkommandantur.3/

1/ Inbel, 21 November 1943, No. 2.
2/ News Digest, No. 1316, 14 December 1943, quoting the Moniteur Belge.
3/ Vbl. Belg., 6 March 1943, p. 1249.

APPENDIX I

PERSONNEL OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE SECTION (VERWALTUNGSSTAB)

AND RELATED MILITARY AUTHORITIES

Title	Organization and location	Duties	Name
Military Administrative Chief (Militärverwaltungschef)	Brussels	Military administration	Gen. Eggert Reeder
Assistant Military Administrative Chief (Adjt. zu Militärverwaltungschef)	Brussels	Military administration	Von Craushaar
Assistant to the Commandant of German Military Government	Brussels	Military administration	Froitzheim
Chief Military Counselor (Oberkriegsverwaltungsrat)	OFK 1/ Brussels	Public aid and relief	Dr. Calirs
Chief Military Counselor	OFK Brussels	Forced labor	Dr. Schulze
Chief Military Counselor	OFK Brussels	Forced labor	Duntze
Chief Military Counselor	OFK Brussels	Control of magistrates	Dr. Gentzke
Chief Military Counselor	OFK Brussels	Railroads	Dr. Lossen
Chief Military Counselor	OFK Liége	Forced labor	Wendigennen
Chief Military Counselor	OFK Ghent	Police	Von Werder
Military Counselor (Kriegsverwaltungsrat)	OFK Brussels	Forced labor	Dr. Torek
Military Counselor	OFK Brussels	Food	Dr. Bayer
Military Counselor	OFK Brussels		Dr. Reusch
Military Counselor	OFK Liége	Political questions 2/	Von Pechmann
Military Counselor	OFK Ghent	Forced labor	Moring
Military Counselor (Kriegsverwaltungsrat)	OFK Mons	Forced labor	Dr. Lohr
Military Administrator Chief (Militärverwaltungschef)	OFK Brussels	Cultural relations	Dr. Loffler Dr. Matsia
Administrative Chief (Verwaltungschef)	OFK Brussels	Police	Oesterselt

1/ Oberfeldkommandantur (Chief Field Headquarters).
2/ Also Assistant to the Oberfeldkommandant.

Title	Organization and location	Duties	Name
	OFK Liége	Forced labor	Busch
Chief Field Commandant (Oberfeldkommandant)	OFK Ghent		Major General Bruns
Labor Leader (Arbeitsführer)	OFK Brussels	Labor relations	Gerlich
Military Administrative Inspector (Kriegsverwaltungsinspektor)	OFK Brussels	Liaison with Military Commandant	Birkholz
Head of the Propaganda Bureau		Propaganda	Karowski
Head of the German Military Bureau of Transportation	Brussels	Transportation	Von Kameke
Office of Fees (Gebührnisstelle)	OFK Brussels		Major Beaunemann
	OFK Brussels	Forced labor	Dr. Freund
	OFK Brussels	Forced labor	Dr. Baron
	OFK Brussels	Agriculture	Ruppel
Head of Special Mission	Brussels		Drenker
Head of Special Mission	Brussels		Du Welz
Head of Special Mission	Brussels		Stocque
Head Field Commander	FK 1/ Antwerp		Lt. General Bertram
Field Commander	FK Antwerp		Colonel Nadrauskiowski
Town Commander (Ortskommandant)	OK 2/ Liége		Lieutenant Bruch
County Commandant (Kreiskommandant)	KK 3/ Huy		Major Klaus
County Commandant	KK Charleroi		Major Quast
County Commandant	KK		Von Zahn
County Commandant	KK Namur		Taff
County Commandant	KK Dinant		Major Bölling

1/ Feldkommandantur (Field Headquarters).
2/ Ortskommandantur (Town Headquarters).
3/ Kreiskommandantur (County Headquarters).

Title	Organization and location	Duties	Name
County Commandant	KK Courtrai		Prepindich
County Commandant	KK St. Nicolas		Captain Gester
Chief Government Counselor (Oberregierungsrat)	KK Namur		Datzmann
Military Counselor (Kriegsverwaltungsrat)	KK Louvain		Dr. Zschacke
Military Administrative Inspector (Militär-verwaltungsinspektor)1/	KK Huy		Schmidt
Commandant of the Field Police (Feldgendarmerie)	Liége		Graf
Lieutenant of the Field Police	Liége		Lieutenant Alzuhn
Captain of the Field Police	Ghent		Captain Grimer
Chief Government Inspector of the Recruiting Office	Liége		Hanemann
Recruiting Office (Werbestelle)	Mons		Lehmann
Recruiting Office	Mons		Schick

1/ Also Area Commandant (Kreiskommandant).

APPENDIX II

PERSONNEL OF THE ECONOMIC DIVISION OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE SECTION (VERWALTUNGSSTAB) AND RELATED MILITARY AUTHORITIES

Title	German organization controlled	Belgian organization	Name
Technical Advisor on Finances and Economic Matters (Conseille Technique aux Finances et Affairs Economiques)	Economic Administration and Foreign Exchange Control (Wirtschaftsstab u. Devisenschutz)	Ministries of Finance and Economic Affairs	General von Hecker
	Chief Field Headquarters Administration (Oberfeldkommandanturverwaltung -- OKV)	Ministry of Finance	Dr. W. Flad
Counselor	OKV		Dr. Jansen
Assistant to the Military Administrative Chief (Militärverwaltungschef, General Reeder)	Headquarters Administration (Kommandanturverwaltung -- KV)		Dr. Bayer
Chief, Headquarters Administration	Economic Administration (Wirtschaftsstab), Headquarters Administration (KV)	Ministry of Economic Affairs	Dr. Karl Schlumprecht
Counselor	Administration Headquarters (KV)		Griesbauer
	Economic Administration		Colonel Nagel
Under Secretary of State (S/Secr. d'Etat)	Economic Administration	Ministry of Economic Affairs	Korner
Chief of Military Headquarters (Chef du Quartier Amt)	Military Headquarters, Brussels		Lieutenant Wijms
	Economic Administration	Ministry of Economic Affairs	Kehrl
Inspector General	Economic Administration	Ministry of Economic Affairs	General von Unruth
Chief of the Central Group (Chef du Groupe Central)	Economic Administration	Ministry of Economic Affairs	Muhleneisen

Title	German organization controlled	Belgian organization	Name
Assistant to the Chief of the Central Group (Adjt. du Groupe Central)	Economic Administration	Ministry of Economic Affairs	Schulter
Trade Counselor (Beauftragter für den Handel)	Economic Administration	Ministry of Economic Affairs	Dr. Botzen
	Office of Transportation	Ministry of Communications	Dr. Krause
	Office for Recruiting Workers (Werbestelle), Chief Field Headquarters Administration -- OKV	Office of Labor (Office National du Travail)	Dr. Schultz
	Head Employment Office		Jamnitz
Alternate Counselor to the War Administration (Conseiller sup. de l'Administration de Guerre)	Economic Administration	Office of Labor	Dr. Kurth
Delegate General for the Use of Manual Labor (Delegue General pour l'Utilization de la Main d'Oeuvre)		Office of Labor	Bauckel
Head of Labor Supply (Arbeitseinsatzreferend)	Office for Recruiting Workers	Office of Labor	Lieutenant Wanke
		Office of Labor	Captain Loewe
		Office of Labor	Hamuth
Secretary (Secretaire)			Dr. Voltz
	Office for Recruiting Workers, Brussels		Dr. Arens
	Chief Field Headquarters, Liége	Office of Labor, Liége	Dr. Schaad
	Office for Recruiting Workers, Liége	Office of Labor, Liége	Bronkhorst
Translator (Officier	Office for Recruiting Workers, Liége	Office of Labor, Liége	Moeller

Title	German organization controlled	Belgian organization	Name
Translator (Officier Traducteur)	Chief Field Headquarters (Oberfeldkommandantur), Liège		Bushtmann
	Office for Recruiting Workers, Headquarters Administration -- KV, Mons	Office of Labor, Mons	Dr. Lohr
	Office for Recruiting Workers, Headquarters Administration -- KV, Mons	Office of Labor, Mons	Medrich
	Office for Recruiting Workers, Headquarters Administration -- KV, Mons	Office of Labor, Mons	Dr. Schick
	Office for Recruiting Workers, Headquarters Administration -- KV, Mons	Office of Labor, Mons	Waufels
Economic Administrative Counselor (Verwaltungsrat Wirtschaft)	Economic Administration, Roeselaere (Roulers)		Klemeyer
Chief Mining Counselor (Oberbergrat)		Central Office for Coal (Office Central des Charbons)	Keyser
Chief Mining Counselor		Central Office for for Coal	Heller
Assistant Counselor for the Coal Administration (Referat Kohle)		Central Office for Coal	Dr. Kotzka
Assistant Counselor for the Coal Administration		Central Office for Coal	Busch
Delegate of the Military Commander of Belgium and North France for the Basin of the Campine (Fonde de Pouvoir du Com. Mil. en Belgique et N. de la France pour le Bassin de la Campine)		Collieries of the Campine	Dr. Houvels
Mining Head of the Charleroi Basin (Referend Bergbau du Bassin du Charleroi)		Collieries of Charleroi	Heitmann

Title	German organization controlled	Belgian organization	Name
Mining Head of the Center Basin (Referend Bergbau du Bassin du Centre)		Collieries of the Center	Speenemann
Government Agent for Iron and Steel in the Occupied Territories (Reichsgeneralbeauftrager für Eisen und Stahl)		Metallurgical Industry	Kuschling
Deputy to the Government Agent for Iron and Steel in the Occupied Territories		Metallurgical Industry	Dr. E. Roes
Alternate Deputy to the Government Agent for Iron and Steel in the Occupied Territories		Metallurgical Industry	Chief Engineer Heinrich
Government Agent for Iron Steel (Reichsbeauftrager für Eisen und Stahl)		Iron and Steel Industry	Gunter
		Metallurgical Industry	Corvette Captain Polenz
		Metallurgical Industry	Schwede
		Metallurgical Industry	Dirie
Brussels Representative of the Steel Trust, Liaison with Sybelac (Repr. à Bruxelles de Stahlwerksverband, Charge de la Liaison avec Sybelac)		Metallurgical Industry	Dr. Mulier
	Foreign Office, Charleroi	Metallurgical Industry	Popp
	Foreign Office (Aussenstelle), Liège	Metallurgical Industry	Scauff
Textile Counselor (Referat Textil)	Headquarters Administration — KV	Main Textile Office	Delius

Title	German organization controlled	Belgian organization	Name
Textile Counselor	Headquarters Administration -- KV	Main Textile Office, Brussels	Hueber
Textile Counselor	Headquarters Administration -- KV	Main Textile Office, Kortrijk	Schilling
Textile Counselor	Headquarters Administration -- KV	Main Textile Office, Rijssel	Hartmann
		Office of Scrap and Salvage	Schmidt
		Main Paper Office	Maatz.
		Diamond Office	Frenzel